

# THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNITIES



AGENCY, STRUCTURE, AND IDENTITY  
IN THE PREHISPANIC SOUTHWEST

EDITED BY MARK D. VARIEN AND JAMES M. POTTER

# The Social Construction of Communities

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# The Social Construction of Communities

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## Agency, Structure, and Identity in the Prehispanic Southwest

MARK D. VARIEN AND JAMES M. POTTER



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## The Social Production of Communities

### Structure, Agency, and Identity

*Mark D. Varien and James M. Potter*

There is a long history to the archaeological investigation of communities in the southwestern United States, one that dates back at least to Morgan's 1881 research in the area (Morgan 1965). Almost from the beginning, the investigation of communities had two goals: to define communities analytically and to understand them socially. This dual emphasis is clear in the pioneering settlement pattern research of Willey (1953) in the Viru Valley of Peru and of his students, including Art Rohn (1965, 1977), who conducted research into community organization in the Mesa Verde region of southwestern Colorado.

The research in this volume builds on this scholarship and focuses on the social production of ancient communities in the southwestern United States. These studies examine particular communities that occupied a variety of areas and time periods. The contributors to this volume examine the social production of communities by scrutinizing the interplay of structure and agency and the formation of social identities. Communities are an appropriate context for this examination because in small-scale societies they are a nexus for face-to-face interactions, which are the primary means by which the rules and resources that structure society are both reproduced and transformed. These interactions are also a primary context in which individuals, as strategic actors, exhibit agency and construct their social identities.

This volume has three objectives. The first is to present a series of studies that use remarkably rich data sets to reconstruct life in specific communities; these empirical studies further our understanding of community organization and the deep history of the southwestern United States. The second goal is to examine the interplay of structure and agency—what Giddens (1979, 1984)



terms “structuration”—to better understand how ancient communities were socially produced, including the active creation and manipulation of social identity by community members. The third objective is to add substance to the concepts of structure, agency, identity, and community through the empirical examination of these case studies. The studies presented in this volume further theorize these concepts and enhance their utility as “thinking tools” used in social research.

The concepts central to this volume—community, structuration, agency, structure, and identity—have come to have a range of meanings. The purpose of this chapter is to review each to provide a foundation for how they are used in this book.

## COMMUNITY

The methods for examining communities have changed dramatically over the decades, but settlement clustering has been a primary criterion for the analytical definition of ancient communities since the concept was first applied. The initial recognition of settlement clusters was important because it made archaeologists move beyond individual sites as the unit of interpretation, and the identification of settlement clusters provided an initial basis for the comparative study of communities.

Settlement clustering is also critical to understanding communities socially. Settlement clustering is a key element of what Lipe (1992:3) terms “first-order, face-to-face communities,” which draws on Murdock’s (1949) definition of community as the location of regular face-to-face social interaction. It is easy to miss the theoretical importance of this relatively simple definition and dismiss settlement propinquity as being one element of an essentialist or behaviorist conception of community. But the clustering of settlements provides a link that connects community studies to the concepts of structure, agency, and identity construction. It is the spatial propinquity of sites that allows for regular face-to-face interaction among individuals. This is what Giddens (1984:64–72) terms “interaction with others who are physically copresent,” and it is social interaction in the context of copresence that reproduces and transforms social structure.

Recent studies of the social foundations of community life have not only advanced our understanding of ancient communities; they have also critically examined the community concept and identified important distinctions in how it is used (e.g., Adler 2002; Canuto and Yaeger 2000; Isbell 2000; Kolb and Snead 1997). In these and other studies, archaeologists have struggled to go beyond using the community concept as a heuristic or commonsense device and

instead deconstruct its theoretical underpinnings (Hegmon 2002; Isbell 2000). Some have argued that the community concept has been applied in a way that is essentialist. That is, archaeologists have assumed that communities are a natural unit of social organization with distinct organizational and behavioral properties. The danger of this approach is that archaeologists find communities in the archaeological record only because they assume they must exist, and they take for granted that they are organized in predetermined ways.

We acknowledge this as a serious problem, but settlement clusters do exist in the archaeological record in the southwestern United States, and archaeologists have the chronological tools to establish the contemporaneity of sites in these clusters. It seems warranted to assume that people in these settlement clusters, who lived in proximity to one another, interacted in the context of copresence. Indeed, arguing that this interaction did not occur seems implausible.

On the other hand, archaeologists *should not* assume the nature of that interaction. The spatial propinquity of settlement does not produce any set type of interaction; it does not in itself produce community. Instead, the nature of that interaction and how it leads to the social production of communities is the empirical problem archaeologists should be trying to solve. Reconstructing that interaction and interpreting it using the concepts of social theory, with a focus on the formation of social identities when applicable, is the challenge faced by the authors who contributed to this volume.

Isbell (2000) has argued that the best way to avoid using community as an essentialist concept is to abandon the concept that he labels “the natural community” and instead focus on what he calls “the imagined community.” In Isbell’s view, the concept of the natural community developed out of ethnographic studies of community that began in earnest in the 1930s. He argues that the concept of community in these studies was shaped more by ethnographic methods than by the social realities of community life (Isbell 2000:245). As the concept of the natural community developed, community came to be seen as natural and necessary, a homogenous, integrated whole without segmentation or factionalism, and a bounded, self-sustaining unit in which community members share a collective consciousness (Isbell 2000:246–48). In contrast, Isbell’s imagined community is inhabited by diverse social actors who regularly exercise their agency. As such, it is a potentially volatile place where social relations are continually contested. Further, it is a place inextricably connected to the larger, outside world. The imagined community is not static, but rather the result of dynamic, fluid processes in which community members interact and pursue goals that are contingent, sometimes contradictory, and constantly changing (Isbell 2000:245–52).

Isbell’s discussion of the imagined community is genuinely interesting, but it is difficult to come away from it with a concise definition of the term. The

use of “imagined” implies that the meaning that the inhabitants of a community give to their being a part of that social group is important. Although this cognitive dimension is clearly a part of what Isbell means by an imagined community, his primary focus seems to us to be a call for research that examines how communities are socially produced. Isbell’s imagined community can be understood only through an analysis of the social action and interaction that constitutes community life (Isbell 2000:248). Greg Schachner’s chapter in this volume is an explicit attempt to address Isbell’s concept of the imagined community and to explore the social dynamics that produced communities in the Cibola region.

Not surprisingly, it is difficult to provide a precise definition for the imagined community—both the definition created by researchers and the conception that people in the past had of their imagined community. As researchers, it is a big challenge to develop methods to determine how ancient communities were imagined and socially produced. The task is even more difficult because as a cognitive phenomenon, the imagined community can exist only in the individual mind of each person doing the imagining. We characterize this imagining, in general terms, as the “historical self-consciousness” that each community member possessed. It is unlikely that the imagined community was a unified concept in the past, because there would have been variation in the minds of individual community members about how their particular community was imagined. This is a major point of James Snead’s chapter in this volume, in which he suggests that “alternative interpretations inevitably exist, and divergent meanings would have been an active source of competition within the populace.”

The social production of communities is equally challenging to reconstruct, as it involves unraveling the actions and interactions of individual community members. A serious problem that plagues many studies of ancient communities is that they treat the community as if it were an entity that somehow acts in a uniform manner (Isbell 2000:245–52; Varien 2000:155). Archaeologists need to crack open the black box of the community concept and focus on the social action that produces a community. In so doing, they will find that communities are composed of distinct actors with diverse interests. At times the interests of different community members coincide, but often they are opposed. Understanding communities in these terms is challenging, but we believe this should be our goal: to understand how communities were socially produced and to explore how they were imagined. Rather than providing a definition for the community concept, the studies in this volume address this challenge by analyzing how communities were actively constructed.

Isbell stresses that archaeologists need to construct their knowledge of imagined communities on a sound basis, with “standards of verification that

demand more than simple readings of the material record as though its meaning were self-evident” (Isbell 2000:251). We believe archaeology is well positioned to meet this challenge. Much of the archaeological record is an accumulation of the practices of individuals, the results of their routinized and repetitive activities (Shennan 1993:55); it is this repeated action that produces what can be recognized as regional traditions (Pauketat 2001a, 2001b). For decades archaeologists have worked to develop methods for uncovering and interpreting these practices; the studies in this volume begin with this foundation and develop new analyses to add to our methodological portmanteau.

More recently, archaeologists have worked to develop methods and theories for inferring ideation in the past. Many of the techniques used to infer ancient ideation tap into inherent strengths of archaeological research, for example, the contextual approach advocated by Hodder and others (Hodder 1986, 1987a). An exhaustive review of method and theory is beyond the scope of this introductory chapter. We believe, however, that efforts to analyze a cognitive phenomenon known as conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) is worth mentioning here because they provide a way to infer ancient ideation that is particularly promising, and because inferring ideation is essential if archaeologists are going to understand how people imagined their membership in ancient communities. This approach is important because conceptual metaphor is a fundamental aspect of human cultural cognition. These conceptual metaphors are image-based phenomena behaviorally expressed through language and material culture. Methods for identifying and interpreting conceptual metaphors draw on research in cognitive psychology and cognitive linguistics (Gibbs 1994; Lakoff 1991, 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1999). As Ortman (2000:615) points out, the empirical and experimental approaches taken by researchers in these fields have produced methods that are both repeatable and verifiable. As such, they provide a means to avoid the simple readings of the material record, which are of concern to Isbell. These methods can be used to infer ideation from material remains, including metaphors about how people conceived of community membership, as well as other schemas that people drew upon to socially produce communities. This approach is illustrated by Scott Ortman’s analyses in this volume, and the power of metaphor in constructing community and social identity is the subject of Tessie Naranjo’s closing chapter, which examines the importance of storytelling in Tewa villages.

Our final point about communities returns to Lipe’s first-order, face-to-face communities. The use of “first order” recognizes that the community concept is used at a variety of scales. In this volume, community refers to first-order communities, or local residential communities that are small enough for regular interaction among people who are physically copresent (Varien

1999:19–23). The chapters in this volume examine interaction within and between these local, residential groups. But others have used the community concept to refer to larger social spheres, and we recognize that the study of local face-to-face communities cannot be divorced from larger social contexts, because community members were always influenced by factors beyond the boundaries of their local, residential community. This includes what we metaphorically term the “larger community of interests,” to which all people and all first-order communities belong. Each first-order community is situated in these larger cultural spheres, but rather than using the term “community” for these larger phenomena, we view them as a part of the historically constituted structure that shapes the action of individuals and their interactions with others. The relationship between individual communities and larger social spheres is examined by several chapters in this volume, especially those by Lyons et al. and Ryan.

## STRUCTURATION

Structuration is an essential element of the social theory needed to understand the social production of communities. Structure and agency are two dimensions of the concept of structuration (Giddens 1979, 1984). In human behavior, agency cannot exist without structure, and structure cannot exist without agency (Hegmon 2003, this volume; Joyce and Lopiparo 2005). As Sewell (1992:4) points out, far from being opposed to each other, structure and human agency presuppose each other: neither are they “alternatives, but rather inseparable parts of a single process” (Joyce and Lopiparo 2005:565).

Two social scientists who have extensively described the relationship between structure and agency are Bourdieu (1977, 1990) and Giddens (1979, 1984). The strength of their respective approaches is that they integrate the analysis of microscale processes (the dispositions and actions of individuals) with the macroscale (the structuring principles of society). The distinction between microscale and macroscale approaches has a long history in social research, including debates that crystallized in the opposition of methodological individualism (Watkins 1968) and holism (Gellner 1968). We acknowledge that it can be useful to focus on either agency or structure in the analysis of specific social phenomena or to theorize these two dimensions individually, but it is important to remember that they are two parts of an integrated whole, and it is their recursive relationship that helps us understand how society, including community life, is reproduced and transformed.

Archaeologists began drawing on the concepts of agency and structure during the 1980s (e.g., Braithewaite 1982; Donely 1982; Donely-Reid 1990;

Hodder 1987; Johnson 1989, 1999; Shanks and Tilley 1987), and we draw on these and subsequent studies to synthesize our perspectives on how these concepts are best viewed with regard to the social construction of community and identity.

## **Agency (2)**

There is considerable variation in the way that the concept of agency has been defined and applied (Brumfiel 2000; Dobres and Robb 2000b; Joyce and Lopiparo 2005). We view agency in general as the choices made by people as they take action, often as they attempt to realize specific goals. From our perspective—and we recognize that this is a topic of debate—agency includes choices that are nonreflexive and generated by an individual's habitus. "Habitus" is defined as the patterns of thoughts and action that an individual acquires by virtue of being raised in a particular social milieu (Bourdieu 1977, 1990). This nonreflexive action conditioned by one's habitus is often referred to as "practice" (Bourdieu 1990:80–97). Habitus is an example of heavily structured agency, and therefore, we view agency as including action that is not exclusively intentional. But this does not mean that social action generated by structured agency is entirely determined (Dornan 2002). In our view, it is an extreme and indefensible position to argue that action structured by one's habitus is devoid of choice, of the possibility of acting differently. Michelle Hegmon discusses the relationship between structured agency and intentionality in her chapter, and Elizabeth Perry's chapter in this volume illustrates how agency conditioned by one's habitus was important in the social construction of community at Grasshopper Pueblo in central Arizona. Her view of gendered agency is an example of how the studies in this volume continue to theorize the concept of agency, in this case expanding on Judith Butler's (1997) concept of performativity as a dimension of human social action.

But agency is expressed along a continuum of more to less structural determination, and agency also includes thoughts, choices, and actions that are reflexive and intentional (although these conscious actions are also conditioned by one's habitus). Agency and practice are similar concepts, but agency tends to be used to denote conscious, strategic action, whereas practice refers more to routinized behavior, or "what people do" (Hegmon 2003:220). Certain studies employ an even narrower concept of agency, using it to refer to strategic action focused on the manipulation of social power and subject formation (Foucault 1977). Again, it is Perry's chapter that reminds us that that power is more than dominance or force (i.e., power over); power can also manifest itself more subtly as the restriction of the possibilities for human action. She

presents a convincing case that women in the late prehispanic period in the Southwest had limited opportunities for choice of action and that through the processes of subject formation, especially repetition of certain activities, the restrictions of possibilities for human action left indelible material signatures on the body.

Still, others would limit agency to what has been referred to as praxis (Lukács 1971), or practical action designed to have specific political goals. We agree that human agencies and relationships are laden with power, great and small, and we acknowledge that differences in power are an important aspect of agency, but we view agency as characterizing a wide range of behavior, and we favor a more inclusive definition of the term. This definition acknowledges that people use their knowledge about how their society works as they take actions to achieve personal goals, but it also recognizes that their knowledge may be imperfect, that their actions may be constrained by other individuals, and that their actions may have unintended consequences. Kristin Kuckelman's study in this volume demonstrates how an individual's decision in the face of environmental deterioration and his imperfect knowledge of the situation had unintended and ultimately dire consequences for him. The chapter underscores the essence of agency at the level of the individual decision maker and raises in very stark relief the questions that archaeologists should be asking: what was the individual decision-making process, and why did individuals make the choices they made? Scott Ortman's chapter addresses a similar issue and notes the potential for leaders to manipulate and influence the knowledge that individuals use to make their decisions. His study illustrates the consequences that misrepresented information and imperfect knowledge had for members of the Lower Sand Canyon community, underscoring how the structured agency of community members is not always predicated on rational knowledge or even based on shared access to the same knowledge (Dornan 2002).

We also view agency as being collective as well as individual. Agency is fundamentally relational, and it can entail acting in concert with others, including acting with others against others. The relational character of agency means that expressions of human agency are always communicative acts in which an individual's actions are coordinated with, and sometimes opposed to, the actions of others. The relational aspect of agency also means that an individual's actions are affected by their position in larger social fields (Bourdieu 1990:66–68; Sewell 1992:21), and this is another way that the source and expression of agency are collective. As Hegmon (2003:221) notes, the concept of collective agency is under-theorized, and an important contribution that archaeology can make to the development of social theory is to further develop this topic. For example, Saitta (1994) argues that agency



theory has neglected the surplus labor process in social life, and he focuses on the production and appropriation of surplus labor in communal societies. He makes the case that individuals in these societies were both producers and appropriators of surplus labor. We believe the concept of communal surplus labor that Saitta develops begins to theorize agency at larger social scales, and it also helps us characterize how agency may have had a different character in noncapitalist society.

There has been considerable work in sociology that focuses on the nature of social interaction; one branch of this field of study is sometimes termed “microsociology” (Giddens 1984:68). Indeed, the concept of copresence comes from this research (Goffman 1963, 1967), and it is these studies that help establish the importance of copresence in theorizing the duality of structure and agency. Although this sociological research is typically not couched in terms of agency theory, it nonetheless informs on the strategies and skills used by actors in their social relations. Goffman’s research (1959, 1967) is an example of microsociological research that reveals the fundamental nature of human agency, and although his studies were conducted among individuals in contemporary settings, they illustrate features of copresence that are found in all societies (Giddens 1984:69). We agree with Sewell (1992:20–21) that this microsociological research makes a strong case that the capacity for agency is inherent in all humans, and it shows how humans exercise their agency by using complex repertoires of interaction skills. Despite the inherent human capacity for agency, the specific forms that agency takes are culturally and historically determined, and they vary considerably depending on the individual involved (Sewell 1992:20). An important reason why agency varies is because of its recursive relationship with structure. Structure empowers social actors in different ways, and individuals have different abilities to strategically use the available rules and resources that constrain and enable their actions. Thus, agency is always structured agency.

## **Structure**

All agency is constrained and enabled by structure. We follow Giddens (1984:377) in viewing structure as the rules and resources available to strategic actors; agency is the appropriation of those rules and resources to take social action, often to achieve specific goals. Again, it is this recursive relationship between rules, resources, and social action that dialectically reproduces social systems.

The concept of agency has received considerable attention in archaeological studies, in part to remedy the fact that strategic actors were virtually absent in the dominant theoretical paradigm of the middle to late 1900s (Brumfiel 1992,



2000; Saitta 1994). The concept of structure, on the other hand, has received relatively little consideration, and while the concept has long been employed in social science, it remains theoretically underdeveloped. Social researchers can help theorize the concept of structure by specifying how it is composed of both rules and resources and by unraveling the relationship between these elements. Most archaeologists have focused on structure as rules, with relatively little discussion of how resources contribute to structure. We begin by discussing rules, move to a more detailed consideration of resources, and conclude by showing how rules and resources are linked.

When discussing rules as a part of structure, most archaeologists focus on the rules that govern social institutions (Dobres and Robb 2000b). Social rules are historically contingent, and the relationship between history and behavior is especially evident in the habitual thoughts and actions generated by an individual's habitus. Intentional, strategic action is also constrained and enabled by historically derived rules, but in examining conscious action, it is clear that rules are perceived differently by individual actors, and human agents—as knowledgeable, creative, strategic actors—transpose, manipulate, and even break the rules in innovative ways as they pursue their goals.

Rules exist only as ideas in human brains; it is the knowledge of these rules that makes people capable of action. As Sewell points out, these rules exist at different levels: the deep structure of interest to structuralists like Levi-Strauss, which is in contrast to social rules that are “nearer to the surface” (Sewell 1992:7). “Rules” is probably too restrictive a term for all that is encompassed by this dimension of structure because a rule implies something that is always a formally stated mode that determines behavior. But the shaping of human behavior also includes social prescriptions that are less formally stated, including metaphors, habits of speech and gesture, scenarios, and recipes for action, among others. Sewell (1992:8) prefers the term “schemas” to describe this more inclusive set of cultural prescriptions, and we agree that this is a more appropriate term.

A key point with regard to schemas is that they can be generalized to a variety of contexts of interaction (Giddens 1984:377; Sewell 1992:8). This means that schemas can be transposed and extended to new situations as opportunities arise. It is this ability to creatively transpose and extend schemas across domains that characterizes the agency of the most successful strategic actors. This manipulation of schemas, in which action can be manipulated within the constraints of structures, is examined by Michel de Certeau (1984) as “tactics” that are integral to the reproduction of society over time (Joyce and Lopiparo 2005).

Much less attention has been paid to theorizing the role of resources as a dimension of structure. When resources are discussed, it is typically ideational

resources like the technological knowledge that receive attention. Thus, most discussions of structure focus on the ideational aspects of resources that exist as knowledge and ideas in an individual's mind. It is true that resources are always linked to the schemas that inform their use, and in this sense there is a historically contingent, ideational component to all resource uses, but resources do include material objects. The materiality of resources is a particularly important part of structure, because these material resources, along with their associated schemas, serve as a source of power in social interaction (Sewell 1992:9).

In discussing resources, Giddens (1979:100) distinguishes between authoritative resources, which are capabilities that generate command over people, and allocative resources, which are capabilities that generate command over objects. Sewell (1992:10) reformulates this distinction as human versus nonhuman resources. Human resources are qualities that a person possesses that can be used to enhance or maintain power. This includes physical qualities (e.g., strength) and mental qualities (e.g., knowledge), and knowledgability includes a person's understanding of how to gain, control, and extend the use of both human and nonhuman resources. Nonhuman resources are objects—both animate and inanimate objects—that can occur naturally or be culturally produced. Nonhuman resources can also be harnessed as a source of power. Everyone controls some measure of both human and nonhuman resources, and this is why all humans should be conceived of as agents who are empowered by their access to these schema-resource sets (Sewell 1992:10).

We believe an understanding of nonhuman resources is particularly important for archaeologists, because we read the material traces of past cultures to interpret ancient history. Further, we think it is critical to extend the discussion of nonhuman resources to include natural resources. Natural resources are an integral part of the structure that strategic actors draw upon as they exhibit their agency. We suspect that natural resources have been largely neglected when archaeologists have theorized about structuration because social theorists who employ concepts of structure and agency are interested in change that results from social dynamics, and they reject the notion that external forces, such as changing environmental conditions, are the primary stimulus for culture change. The postprocessual critique viewed adaptationist-social-evolutionary theory as focusing virtually exclusively on exogenous factors as the source of culture change. The postprocessual critique was justified, but it has led to the near exclusion of ecology (and cognitive psychology) by social theorists as they theorize about social change (Shennan 1993:58). From our perspective, this is unfortunate.

The limited attention given to structure—especially the resources side of structure—overlooks important opportunities. First, a temporal dimension

is critical to adequately theorizing structure. The long time frames available to archaeologists allow us to develop the theoretical concept of structure in important ways that are not recognized by other social scientists (Hodder 1987). Second, archaeologists are particularly good at identifying the natural resources that individuals drew on in pursuing their agency, and they can illustrate this element of structuration in great detail.

Many factors affect the distribution of natural resources, including environmental change and human impact on the environment. Most important, these factors mean that the natural resources that humans draw upon are ever changing. This is important because the ever-changing nature of these resources provides unique and important avenues for strategic action, and this dialectical relationship between human agency and ever-changing resources is central to understanding culture change. The ever-changing nature of resources, and their uneven distribution across space and through time, provides archaeologists with an unparalleled opportunity to understand the recursive relationship between resources, their associated schemas, and human agency. Indeed, the ever-changing quality of natural resources, along with their relationship to schemas and human agency, is an important reason why structuration theory is not simply a more sophisticated reformulation of functionalism.

In sum, resources exist in time and space, but their condition as resources, along with their potential for producing and reproducing differences in social power, are not wholly intrinsic in their material existence. Both human and nonhuman resources are activated as resources largely through the schemas that inform their use; it is these schemas that determine their value and social power (Sewell 1992:10–12). Structure is therefore composed simultaneously and recursively of schemas and resources. Just as resources are activated through schemas, the use of resources justifies schemas. Schemas are validated and perpetuated by the use and accumulation of resources that their enactment engenders. Schemas that do not have this relationship to resources are quickly abandoned and forgotten. Schemas-resource sets constitute structures when they mutually sustain each other over time (Sewell 1992:13). The time-space dimension of rules, resources, and agency creates a social geography that is particularly suited to archaeological investigation.

## **TIME AND SPACE**

As Giddens (1984:110) has noted, understanding how social systems are reproduced across space and through time is a central problem of social theory. Archaeology, more than any other branch of social science, can address this challenge and theorize on time and space as structural properties of social

systems. Time and space are central to structuration theory because this theory examines the continuous flow of social practices and how they reproduce the structural properties of societies through structured agency. The continuous flow of social action creates both history and geography—history as the social transformation of time and geography as the social transformation of space. By examining the social production of communities, the chapters in this volume further theorize about the dimensions of time and space in social theory.

The agency exhibited through social action is an embodied experience, and therefore, the indivisibility of the human body is implicated in the time-space systematics of structuration theory. Individual human agency is temporally constrained, because people can participate in only a few activities at once and the course of a human life is relatively short. Similarly, social action and interaction can occur only in a particular space; this limits the settings in which interaction occurs, structures how these settings are organized, and results in the social production of space.

Although interaction in the context of copresence occurs at limited temporal and spatial scales, this action cascades out into larger, supra-individual scales through a process that Giddens (1984:377) labels “time-space distancing.” This refers to the stretching of social systems across time and space, and it is the means by which social action leads to the development of social institutions and the means by which social integration is accomplished. As examples of spatial distinction, residential communities are sometimes physically linked to each other by roads, and communities are socially linked through the uneven distribution of various types of public architecture and the intercommunity activities that occur there. Shrines and rock art are landscape features that simultaneously define community boundaries and connect communities to the larger natural world, something explored in the chapters by Ortman and Snead in this volume. Communities are even linked to the cosmos when buildings are oriented to specific directions and celestial events that are imbued with meaning. Temporally, distancing occurs as cultural institutions, like great-kiva ceremonialism, are developed and perpetuated.

Time and space create the context for social life and social institutions (Giddens 1984:132) in all societies. But conceptions of time and the social organization of space are culturally and historically contingent phenomena, and each society has different ways of reckoning time and distinct ways of creating settings to organize activities (Ashmore 2002; Hall 1983). This is certainly true for Pueblo society (Ortiz 1969; Varien et al. 1999). Again, anthropology and anthropological archaeology have a large role to play in theorizing the culturally contingent time-space dimensions of structuration.

Although Giddens recognizes that the concepts of time and space are fundamental to social theory, he does not fully develop the implications of these

dimensions, and when he does discuss them, he emphasizes time over space (Soja 1989). In contrast, Soja (1989:144) argues that the spatial and temporal are “epistemologically co-equal, dialectically related in their material expression, unified in praxis, and positioned at the very heart of critical social theorization.” Soja, perhaps more than anyone else, has theorized space as a fundamental property of structuration, emphasizing the importance of this for Marxist social theory.

Giddens does introduce spatial concepts, such as regionalization and locales (Giddens 1984:375, 376). Locales are physical settings that concentrate interaction in some manner. Regionalization is the time-space differentiation of regions, within or between locales. The important aspect of regionalization is that it results in societies that are neither homogenized nor entirely unified. In Soja’s (1989:148) version of spatial-temporal structuration, the lived-in world consists of socially created nodal regions that are multilayered, differentiated, and hierarchically organized locales. This creates a nodality to social life where activities cluster around identifiable geographical centers. Further, nodality presupposes peripheralness, and some degree of nodality and peripheralness are qualities of virtually every locale and region.

This uneven geographical development is more than a mere description of the landscape; it creates tensions and contradictions that have the power to transform social structure (Soja 1980:219–22). Stone (1993) illustrates this transformative potential in his ethnographic study of the settlement ecology of the Kofyar and Tiv in West Africa, and Varien (1999:193–216) shows how uneven geographical development characterized the settlement history of the Mesa Verde archaeological region and suggests how this transformed Pueblo society there. Soja (1989:149) also notes that this uneven social geography means that the friction of distance is an essential part of being in the world, and this cannot be ignored when developing the social theory of human interaction, something that Varien illustrates for the Mesa Verde region (1999:155–72).

Soja (1989:151) uses the term “localities” to signify enduring locales that are stabilized socially and spatially through the clustered settlement of primary activity sites. As Potter and Yoder point out in their chapter, this is an apt characterization of the residential communities that are the focus of this volume. These are seen as generative locales for distancing, where activity in the context of copresence is stretched over space and time. Because these settings are concentrations of resources as well as concentrations of action, the organization of space is inherently linked to the differentiation of social power (Foucault 1979; Giddens 1984:153–58; Soja 1989:142, 150).

The archaeology of cultural landscapes (Anschutez et al. 2001; Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Aston 1997; Potter 2004), meaningful places (Basso 1996; Zedeno 2000; Zedeno and Bowser 2006), and memory (Schama

1995; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003) has produced a considerable amount of theoretical and empirical work that clarifies how humans give meaning to the places they occupy and shows, among other things, that the process whereby landscapes accumulate meaning is inherently historical and temporal (Varien 1999:193–216). Naranjo, in her chapter in this volume, illustrates how the meaning associated with cultural landscapes is transmitted and perpetuated through stories and oral tradition.

Some of these landscape approaches adopt phenomenological perspectives whereby dispositions (e.g., meaning, memories, and identities) are created, often rather passively, through experiencing place. As Snead points out in his chapter, landscapes are also about the creation of relations of power, and while they are indeed implicated in subject formation, they are also engaged by agents to their strategic advantage. This illustrates a point made by Soja (1980, 1985, 1989), who draws heavily on Lefebvre (1991): The relationship between the social and the spatial is fundamentally recursive and dialectical. Space is socially produced, but—once produced—these settings structure and transform the character of the social actions that occur there (Soja 1980:208–12). This is illustrated best by Ryan's study of Albert Porter Pueblo in this volume. Furthermore, this social-spatial dialectic contains its own contradictions and transformational potential, as shown by Snead's analysis of the Gallisteo Basin cultural landscape in this volume. It is this generative and transformative quality that makes the social-spatial dialectic fundamental to structuration theory in general and to the construction of social identities in particular.

## IDENTITY

The construction of social identities is one of the most universal of human goals, and many of the choices that agents make relate to defining and negotiating their identities. In small-scale societies, this occurs primarily through social interaction in the context of community life. As Díaz-Andreu and Lucy (2005:2) point out, identities are constructed through interaction between people, and the process by which individuals acquire and maintain their identities requires choice and agency. It is through agency, then, that people signal and define who they are (and who they are not). Yet selecting and actively creating membership in the groups with which people want to identify are always constrained by structure. Identity construction is thus a good example of the process of structuration.

For this volume, we use the term “identities” interchangeably with “identity,” since identity is always multifaceted: no one has just one identity. Identities can be hybrid or multiple, and different types of identities can

intersect and crosscut each other, for example, the gender of an individual; that person's membership in a particular household, medicine society, clan, or community; or their participation in a particular ideational system. Elements such as these compose the identity of an individual, and particular elements may be emphasized in different contexts of social interaction. In this way, in addition to being an outcome of one's agency, a person's identity can be a resource (part of one's structure) that is drawn upon to pursue and realize further goals.

Identities are relational; they are constructed in particular social contexts and in relation to others. Identities are memberships of similarity and difference, and they define us as belonging to certain groups and not to others. Moreover, this type of social categorization requires recurrent and active engagement. One's identity, and the groups one belongs to, is never fixed but, rather, is continually negotiated. It is thus a large constituent of any individual's decision-making and behavioral repertoire and, ultimately, of the material culture they create, manipulate, interact with, and leave behind. Indeed, the objects people use and the ways they use them define who they are and their place in the world. Material culture is therefore integral to the construction of the self and the creation of social relationships, and it can be strategically employed to define the essence of particular social groups. Yet, as indicated above, identity is fluid and transient, so that the meanings ascribed to things are subject to debate and contestation.

The contributors to this volume focus on the choices and actions of individuals or groups as they engage in the process of constructing their identity. This includes the material culture patterning resulting from identity construction. It is clear that some identity construction and maintenance is nondiscursive and grounded in habitus. But identities are also constructed through intentional strategic action. In particular, we view ethnicity as a form of identity construction that is actively created and maintained. Strategic action is at the forefront of ethnicity, a perspective that is in contrast to the classic notion, which views ethnicity as something that individuals passively inherit (Jones 1997). Rather than viewing it as something with which people are born, ethnicity is instead seen as more a way of behaving and as something that is fluid over an individual's lifetime and in the various contexts in which people interact (Lucy 2005:86). This fluidity is emphasized in Tessie Naranjo's chapter, when she examines the metaphor of movement, which is central to the oral traditions of Pueblo people.

The chapters in this volume show identity construction operating at a variety of scales in the American Southwest. Elizabeth Perry's chapter, for example, focuses on the individual body at Grasshopper Pueblo; Potter and Yoder's, on the construction of household identities in Ridges Basin;



Ortman's and Ryan's, on community-level identity construction at Castle Rock Pueblo and Albert Porter Pueblo, respectively; and Lyons, Clark, and Hill's, on the establishment of group identity at the scale of the locality (i.e., the Tonto Basin vs. the San Pedro Valley). James Allison's chapter actually tracks a shift in the scale of a particular identity marker through time. In the A.D. 700s, red ware pottery operated as an individual identity marker; by 850 it had become a group identity marker at the scale of the village.

Identifying how agents of the past signaled their group affiliations is a particular challenge to archaeologists, who have only the material remains of certain behaviors to analyze and interpret. We believe that to date, the theory that has been developed for understanding identity construction (e.g., Barth 1969; Conkey and Gero 1991; Hodder 1982; Jenkins 1997; Jones 1997) has outpaced the development of the methods—the middle range theory—needed to understand patterning in the archaeological record that relates individuals actively negotiating and establishing their identity. We think the chapters in this volume make a substantial step toward developing these methods. All examine the material record in innovative ways and address identity construction at a variety of scales—the individual, the household, the community, and the regional settlement system. Taken together, they effectively demonstrate how rich data sets can be drawn upon to study communities; contribute to the advancement of social theory; and show how identity construction in the context of community life affects how communities came to look, how they were organized, how they functioned, and how ultimately they persisted or disintegrated. In other words, the studies in this volume reveal the connections between identity construction, the social construction of communities, and the workings of history.

## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this volume is to integrate social theory with empirical case studies from the southwestern United States and, in so doing, to examine the social construction of community and identity. In this chapter, we have reviewed some of the foundational concepts that are needed to pursue this end. One foundational concept we have not examined is what is meant when we use the term “social.” Sewell (2005:318–28) traces the use of the term, and its cognate, society, from the seventeenth through the twentieth century. He shows how its original use signified friendship, companionship, and unmediated face-to-face relationships. Over time, it has come to include mediated relationships as well, and he argues that this provides a way by which social scientists can theorize the social: by specifying the mediations that place



people into social relations with one another, making them inextricably linked to each other's worlds (Sewell 2005:329). In this view, the basis for social analysis is the "streams or sequences of mediated human actions and the humanly created and therefore changeable forms that mediate them" (Sewell 2005:330).

Like other polysemic concepts, "social" will always be a somewhat vague term. But Sewell argues that its utility for social scientists is that it signifies the inherent interdependence in human relations, and this is the ontological basis for human life and our efforts to understand it. Our task is to accept the complexity inherent in the term and clarify it by conceptualizing it more explicitly (Sewell 2005:328).

In compiling this book, we believed that the best way to clarify the concepts used in social theory is to actively engage them in empirical research and then reflect on the results of these studies. This volume contains nine case studies, followed by three chapters, that reflect on the social theoretical concepts and the means by which archaeologists try to understand the social construction of communities and identity. As editors, we are grateful to each of the contributors for their collective efforts in addressing this task that we set before them.

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**IDENTITY**



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## Space, Houses, and Bodies

### Identity Construction and Destruction in an Early Pueblo Community

*James M. Potter and Thomas D. Yoder*

Structuration theory and the concepts of structure and agency are particularly useful to archaeological considerations. The notion that change over time is influenced and guided by the actions of knowledgeable agents and the choices they make, that these actions are both constrained and enabled by the available rules and resources that structure social activity, and that, consequently, these rules and resources are both reproduced and transformed by these actions, is a powerful starting point for understanding societal transformation. But structuration is more than a theory of change over time. Although they are not as robustly developed in Giddens's writings, there are elements of structuration that speak to how spatial phenomena are implicated in strategic relationships among actors and the (re)production of structure.

One of the more salient spatial elements of structuration theory is what Giddens terms "locales," the settings of social life whose properties actors draw upon and thus enter into social reproduction by creating and sustaining the taken-for-granted meanings of everyday routines (Giddens 1984:118). In this sense, space, or place (in the form of locales), is constitutive of social integration, which is manifest through social interaction at a face-to-face level, or situations of what Giddens's terms "copresence" (Giddens 1984:36, 69–72, 282). Giddens's notion of the dominant locale can be particularly useful to understanding the spatial aspects of social interactions. Dominant locales are physically demarcated settings that concentrate interaction and resources, both allocative (material) resources and authoritative (social and symbolic) resources (Giddens 1981; Gregory 1989). As such, they provide both the context for everyday conduct and the resources necessary for agents to reproduce and, more significantly perhaps, transform structure. Though originally

used to describe cities, we suggest that dominant locales can be appropriately applied to portray early villages in the Southwest, which were indeed concentrations of population, but also the loci of the communal storage of surpluses, communal rituals, and special architectural features not found among more dispersed settlements. The result often was the consolidation of allocative and authoritative resources and the potential for the control over both these resources and the rules that govern their use.

This chapter is concerned with how agents of the past established dominant locales using three strategies: (1) the spatial aggregation of houses, (2) the manipulation and experimentation of architectural form, and (3) violence. We suggest that one of the main motivations for implementing these three strategies was defining and signaling the identity of particular social groups, and thereby enhancing the political and economic positioning of members of these groups within a community. Social identities are constructed through interaction among people and in relation to the “other”; they are memberships of belonging, of similarity and difference, of inclusion and exclusion, and as such they entail active engagement. We note that within the context of a contested landscape (that is, a previously unoccupied locale into which groups from different areas migrate and settle), the spatial positioning of settlement, experimentation of architectural form, and violence were used to negotiate and establish boundaries of belonging and exclusion (in effect, clarifying the categories of us vs. them, or the “other”) within the community as it formed, ultimately as a way for households to gain perceived access to allocative and authoritative resources.

To explore these themes, we draw from recent work conducted near Durango, Colorado, as part of the Animas–La Plata project. With just under eighty sites excavated in Ridges Basin and on Blue Mesa, this project yielded one of the most comprehensive data sets to date on the origins of village life in the northern Southwest. Most significantly, it has brought to light, for the first time, the important role that identity construction (and destruction) played in the formation and dissolution of the earliest villages.

## **AN EARLY VILLAGE LANDSCAPE**

Ridges Basin is a broad triangular valley adjacent to the Animas River, just south of the modern town of Durango, Colorado (figure 2.1). Substantial pre-hispanic occupation of this area occurred during two distinct periods (Potter and Chuipka 2007). There is evidence of minimal, probably seasonal, use of the area in the late Basketmaker II period, from about A.D. 200 to 400. This is followed by a hiatus, with little or no use of the area, and then an intensive

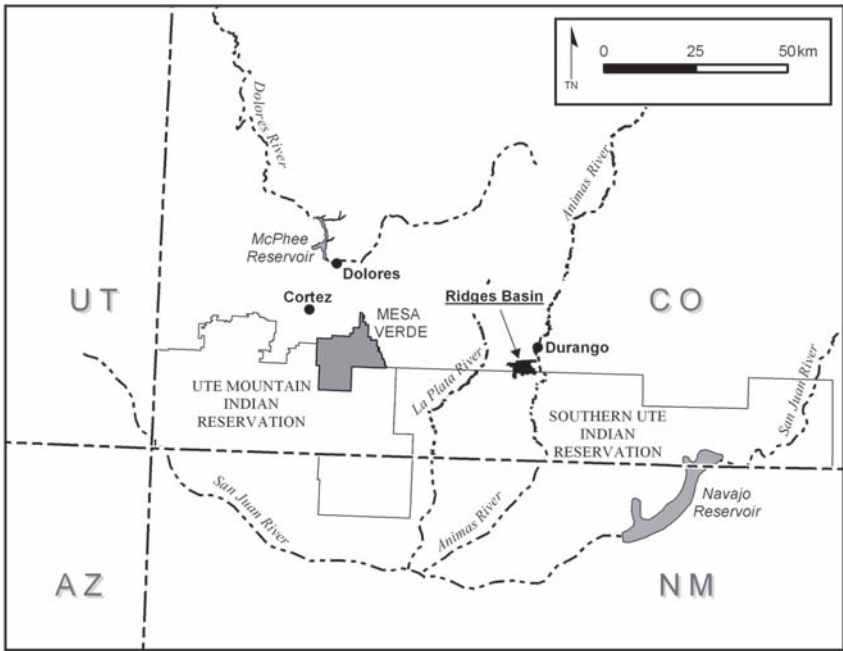
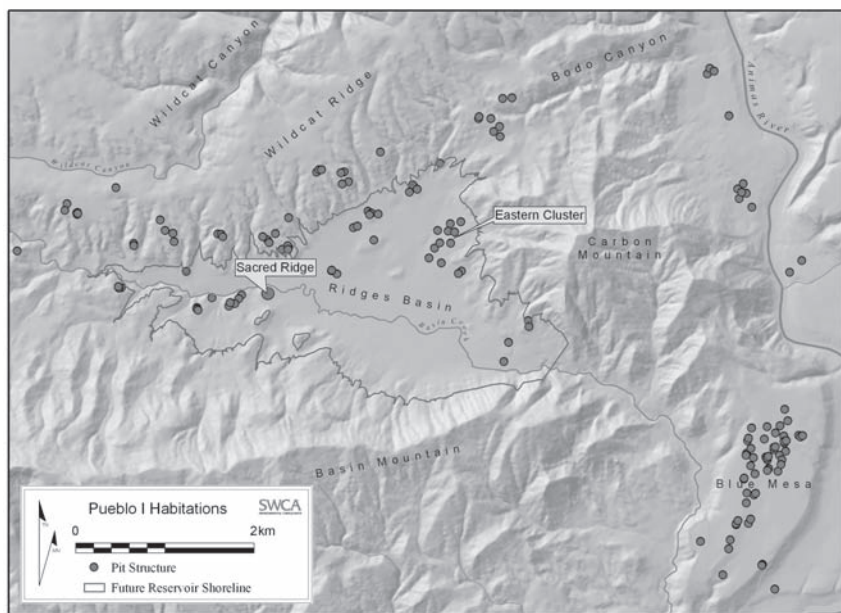


Figure 2.1. Map showing the location of Ridges Basin in southwestern Colorado.

reoccupation starting in the mid A.D. 700s, peaking in the late 700s, and abruptly ending shortly after A.D. 800. Settlement during this second period consisted of a village center surrounded by clusters of smaller habitations occupied by one or a few households (figure 2.2). Ridges Basin provides an intriguing case study, then, of migrants coming into an unoccupied area during the early Pueblo I period and organizing themselves into a new socio-spatial organizational form—the village-centered landscape—followed by the rapid and complete abandonment of the area after a generation or two.

Pueblo I households generally comprised a pit structure as the main domicile and associated aboveground storage rooms. Extramural hearths, roasting features, middens, and human burials are also commonly found at these habitations, and these are often contained within an enclosure made of posts, adobe, and/or cobbles. Within this basic framework, though, there is notable variation. Culture-historical models that have been proposed for the area have not adequately explained this variation, and we suggest that a model that takes human agency into account may have greater success.

Ridges Basin is situated between two broad culture areas that have been defined for the Pueblo I period: the Piedra to the west and the Rosa to the east (figure 2.3). The Piedra culture area typically contains sites with square or

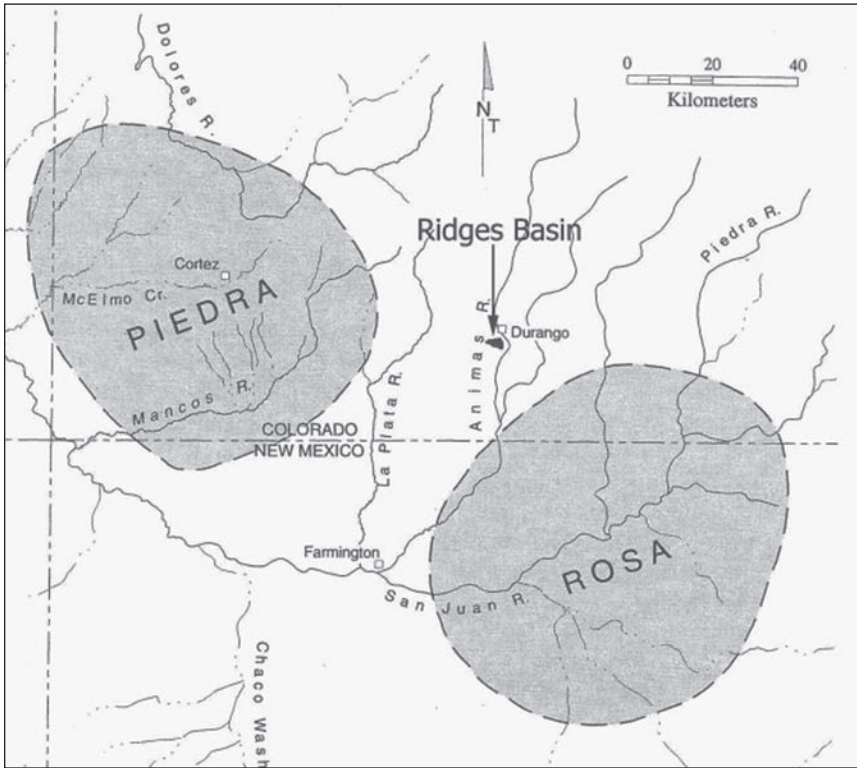


**Figure 2.2.** Pueblo I habitation sites in Ridges Basin and immediate surrounding areas.

rectangular pit houses with wing walls (low walls that delineate space within houses) and single-hole ventilators. Surface room architecture tends to be more substantial than in the eastern region, and blocks of surface rooms are typically two rooms deep. These roomblocks contain both storage and living rooms. The major cultural features in the Piedra area tend to be formally oriented north-south, with surface rooms to the north of the pit structure and a midden to the south. These sites correspond to the Northern San Juan Ceramic Tradition, which consists of pottery with crushed igneous rock temper, mineral paint, and a higher proportion of neckbanded gray-ware pottery by A.D. 775 (see Allison, this volume, for further discussion of these pottery production areas).

Rosa sites, on the other hand, often contain circular pit houses with two-hole ventilators. Surface rooms are more ephemeral, built strictly of adobe. Roomblocks tend to be only one room deep, and these rooms functioned primarily as storage rooms. These sites are less formal in both composition and alignment than in the west and often are enclosed by a stockade or cobble ring. Rosa pottery assemblages are of the Upper San Juan Ceramic Tradition, which typically contains pots with sand or quartzite temper, few neckbanded jars even after 800, and organic paint decoration.

It has been argued that these two architectural and pottery traditions represent two distinct culture groups. It has also been proposed that a certain



**Figure 2.3.** Distribution of the Piedra and Rosa culture areas.

blending of traits would be expected in Ridges Basin due its proximity to the supposed boundary of these two regional styles (Hensler 2002; Hovesak and Sesler 2002; Silverman, Fetterman, and Honeycutt 2003). Prior to our work in Ridges Basin, there were three general models put forth to explain the spottily documented archaeological record of the Durango area with respect to the east-west divide. The first is articulated by Silverman and others. It states that given the proximity of the Durango–Ridges Basin area to the boundary between these two archaeological traditions, the archaeological record should represent a mix of traits.

Generally, . . . the sites in the Durango . . . area exhibit both western and eastern traits. . . . The Durango sites contain both rectangular and circular pithouses, simple roomblocks that served primarily for storage, and were sometimes surrounded by post stockades or cobble rings. The Durango . . . area sites contain a mix of ceramic types: some Northern San Juan Tradition and some Upper San Juan Tradition (Silverman et al. 2003:8).



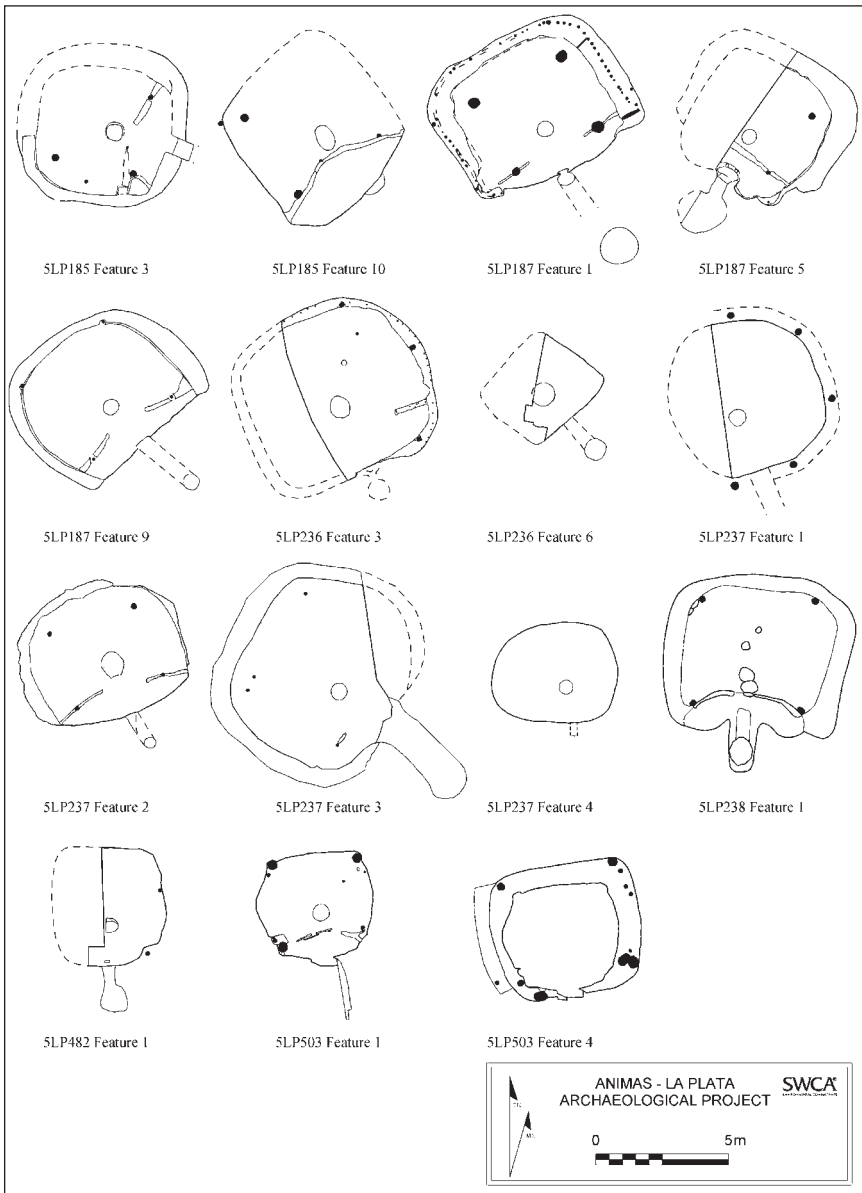
The second model proposes that since Durango is located closer to the edge of the Rosa culture area and contains a high proportion of Rosa-style pottery, it should be lumped archaeologically with the eastern region: it is in effect "Rosa." This view is supported mainly by those archaeologists focused on broad trends in ceramic distributions (e.g., Allison, this volume) and those familiar with the Upper San Juan Basin archaeological record, namely, the Rosa tradition to the north and Gallina tradition to the south.

A third model has been put forward by Hovezak and Sesler. It states that some material realms in the Durango area derive from the east, while others simultaneously derive from the west.

It is of interest that approximately contemporaneous Pueblo I sites [in the Durango area] may have pottery with many of the characteristics of the Rosa style (e.g., Wilson 1988:320), but architecture and site layout are more formal and aligned, as is expected for the Mesa Verde and Dolores sites dating to this period (e.g., Fuller 1988:359). . . . These combined traits may suggest that the Pueblo I occupation in the Durango area was jointly influenced by populations from the Mesa Verde and upper San Juan (Hovezak and Sesler 2002:57–58).

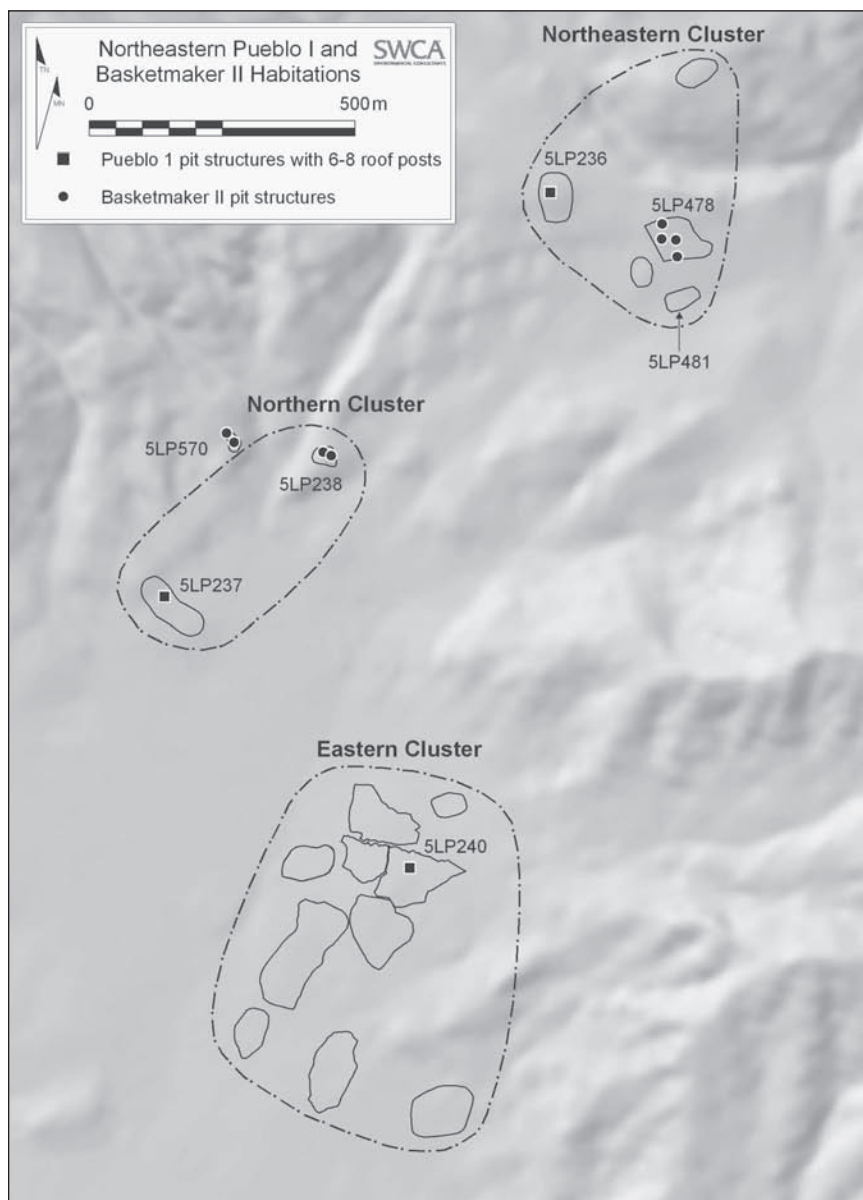
Each of these culture-historic models relies on the implicit assumption that the so-called east-west divide represents a boundary between two distinct ethnic or culture groups and that material culture patterning in general mirrors ethnicity. Our research has shown, however, that Durango, and Ridges Basin in particular, did not contain a simple mixing of traits from the east and west. Instead, what we found was much more complex and untidy than any of these models predict. As Shennan points out, "this untidiness is, in fact, the essence of the situation, arising from the fact that there are no such entities as 'cultures,' simply the contingent interrelations of different distributions produced by different factors" (Shennan 1989:13).

Architectural variation in particular is much greater than would be expected by simple trait admixture. Pit-house shapes, for example, include the square form typical of the western region and the circular form noted in the eastern region, but there are also oval, D-shaped, and sub-square (square sides with rounded corners) pit houses (figure 2.4). Indeed, one of the most intriguing findings was the variety of house styles that people employed when constructing their houses in Ridges Basin, including not only shape but also roofing technique and internal feature composition. A few families, for instance, adopted a roofing technique similar to that used by the Basketmaker II people, who occupied the basin three hundred years prior. These houses had six to eight posts set into the bench to support a cribbed roof and, probably not coincidentally, were proximate to Basketmaker II sites in Ridges



**Figure 2.4.** Examples of pit structures in Ridges Basin.

Basin, also with cribbed roofs (figure 2.5). Interestingly, these houses were exclusively in the eastern and northeastern portion of the basin. This is in stark contrast to western and northwestern portions of Ridges Basin, which



**Figure 2.5.** Distribution of Basketmaker II pit structures and Pueblo I pit structures with 6–8 roof posts.

contained neither Basketmaker II sites nor cribbed-roof Pueblo I structures. Other families opted for the more common four-post method but varied the

size and shape of their houses and the internal attributes, such as the presence of benches, coped hearths, wing walls, or two- or one-hole vents.

We suggest that variation in house appearance was the result of immigrant households from various origins actively working to establish and signal their identities. Some did this by harkening back to Basketmaker II times through the construction of cribbed roofs and the placement of their houses next to ancient Basketmaker II sites. One of the most effective ways to legitimize one's claim to a landscape and create an identity that is rooted in tradition is to reference the remote past through architectural style, effectively signaling a historical connection—whether real or fictive—to place. Other people, instead, chose to create identities that were based on innovative new house styles, such as oval or D-shaped houses.

The contested nature of this landscape is further exemplified by the association of violence with particular clusters of houses. The northeastern portion of the basin, for instance, contained not only Basketmaker II sites and Pueblo I houses with cribbed roofs but also evidence of violence associated with particular structures. Three structures in this portion of the basin contained the only well-documented instances of (unprocessed) human remains on the floors of pit structures in Ridges Basin at Sites 5LP237, 481, and 236 (figure 2.5). Each of these sites contained pit structures with burned but intact human remains on the floors. Based on their lack of grave goods and on their inconsistency with the general mortuary pattern of burial in trash middens seen at most other Pueblo I sites in Ridges Basin, rather than intentional burials, we interpret them as the victims of violence that was concentrated in (or at) the northeastern portion of Ridges Basin. The discovery of five individuals placed haphazardly in a single large pit at 5LP237, one with cranial trauma, further indicates violence at this site.

In addition to the spatial patterns noted above, specifically the differences among houses in the eastern and western sides of the basin, temporal patterning in pit structures was also evident (table 2.1). From about A.D. 750 to 780, Ridges Basin structures were smaller, more variable, and mostly unburned at abandonment; many were salvaged and used as trash receptacles for nearby larger, later structures. At around A.D. 780 or 790, many of these smaller, more diverse structures were abandoned in the dispersed house clusters, and larger structures were built that emulated the style of larger pit structures at the Sacred Ridge site, a large village-aggregate located at the west end of the basin (see below). These larger, later structures tended to be more consistent in appearance across the basin: they were all very large and D-shaped or oval in plan; employed a four-post roofing system; and had large benches, wing walls, and single-hole vents (figure 2.6). The main differences between these and the ones at the Sacred Ridge site were the ritual floor features and

**Table 2.1. Tree Ring Dates for Large, Burned Pit Structures and Small, Unburned Pit Structures in Ridges Basin**

Large/burned				Smaller/mostly unburned			
Site. feature	Latest Tree Ring Date	Type of Date	Floor Area (m2)	Site. feature	Latest Tree Ring Date	Type of Date	Floor Area (m2)
187.1	759	vv	25	174.1	678	vv	19
244.15	809	r	28	177.1	619	vv	—
246.2	790	vv	34	185.5	636	vv	—
245.41	782	vv	35	236.3	767	vv	—
245.83	803	r	30	237.1	632	vv	—
511.1	776	vv	—	237.2	761	vv	23
				240.1	607	vv	—
				241.6	778	vv	—
				242.1	652	vv	23
				245.19	673	vv	13
<b>Mean</b>	<b>789</b>		<b>30</b>		<b>680</b>		<b>20</b>

evidence of ceremonial feasting associated with those at Sacred Ridge (see Allison, this volume). During this later phase, structures thus became more standardized in appearance as each house cluster signaled its shared identity with Sacred Ridge by building houses of a more formal style. This was very short-lived, however, as the entire basin was depopulated by 820.

Particularly intriguing is that the large structures in dispersed clusters resemble the large structures on Sacred Ridge in appearance, but apparently, they were not used for the same activities, specifically communal rituals. This suggests that the goal was more a symbolic linkage with Sacred Ridge—based on highly visible traits, such as size and shape—rather than conducting similar activities within the structures.

We propose that this pattern is similar to that documented for Dela in northern Cameroon, a multiethnic community of about 1,100 people in which domestic-architecture form “is one material strategy which local ethnic groups use to negotiate political self-interests” (Lyons 1996:351). Household compounds in this community contain different language groups with separate histories of origin. House shape is used as a conscious strategy to either enhance or suppress visible differences between individuals and groups, depending on whether a group’s ethnic visibility is advantageous or detrimental to the group’s self-interest in the political context of the community. As in Ridges Basin, less visible attributes of the interior of houses—for example,

the furniture that is present and the spatial organization of people, property, and activities—remain unchanged and reflect the diverse backgrounds of the community members. It is only the exterior shape of the house that is altered.

### THE SACRED RIDGE SITE

As mentioned above, the core of the settlement system that characterizes the Ridges Basin Pueblo I landscape was an aggregated village, the Sacred Ridge site. Households at this site actively used spatial clustering and architectural form in a dramatic fashion to set themselves apart from others (figure 2.7). This site was situated on a small knoll at the west end of Ridges Basin and covered almost thirteen acres. The site contained twenty-two pit houses and associated surface roomblocks, over a hundred burials, and numerous extra-mural features. It was occupied from about A.D. 700 to 815 and thus was contemporaneous with the majority of dispersed households in Ridges Basin.

Several attributes of this site make it unique not only among sites in Ridges Basin but also among Rosa sites to the east and Piedra sites to the west, and

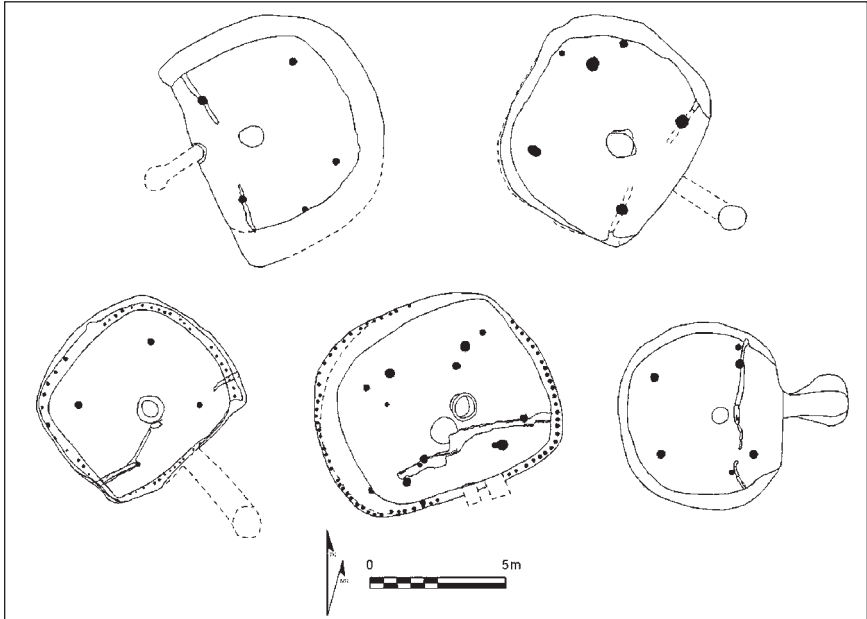


Figure 2.6. Examples of large pit structures at Sacred Ridge and other sites in Ridges Basin.

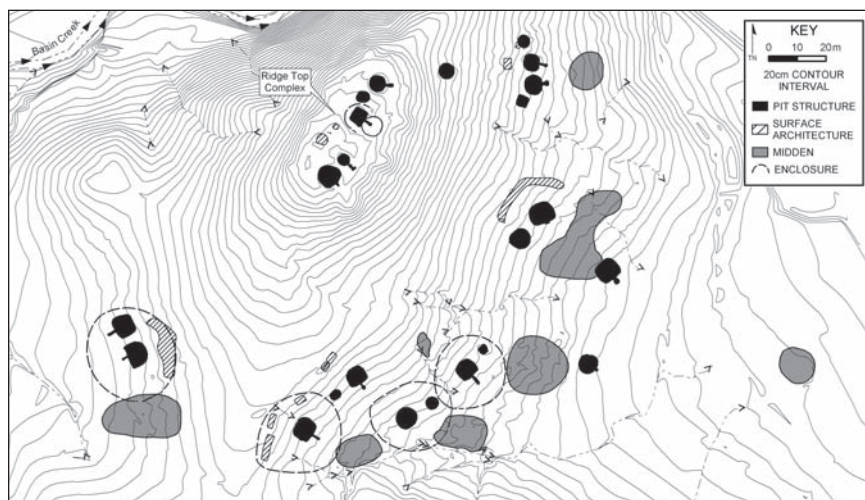


Figure 2.7. Map of the Sacred Ridge site.

thus unpredicted by the models presented above. First, the size of the site and the degree of household aggregation are unprecedented in Ridges Basin and in the Rosa area to the east and south. There are no known village aggregations dating to the late 700s and early 800s to the east and south of Ridges Basin (Wilshusen 2005). The largest known site is Sambrito Village, a multi-component site investigated as part of the Navajo Reservoir project (Eddy 1996), and it comprised only six pit structures during this early Pueblo I period (Hovezak and Sesler 2002:57).

Second, the organizational layout of Sacred Ridge is different from contemporaneous village aggregates to the west. The site was composed of eight groupings of buildings containing pit houses and associated aboveground rooms, one on top of the ridge and seven along the eastern and southern slope of the knoll (figure 2.7). Additionally, four enclosures, or stockades, were found encircling pairs or single pit structures in the southern portion of the site. Potter and Chuipka (2007) have suggested that these stockades functioned as internal boundaries that maintained individual household identities, even in the face of aggregation.

These pit-house groupings wrapped around the eastern and southern slopes of the ridge, in some sense enclosing the ridge, albeit at a larger scale, in the same way that stockades enclosed pit houses. This pattern is very different from examples of early aggregation to the west. Site 13 at Alkali Ridge, for example, dated to the late A.D. 700s and comprised sixteen pit structures (six fewer than at Sacred Ridge), yet also contained hundreds of contiguous surface rooms assembled around open plazas. The larger rooms were interpreted

as living quarters, and the small rooms as storage chambers (Brew 1946:190). In contrast, surface rooms at the Sacred Ridge site numbered only a few dozen and were much more ephemeral, and no plazas were identified.

Third, Sacred Ridge contained four very large, oversized pit structures, which we interpret as houses, that also functioned intermittently as communal ritual structures. They were not only similar in shape and size but also contained a consistent suite of internal features, including a wide bench, a wing wall, sipapus behind a large central hearth, four large roof-support posts, and a single-hole vent. In addition, each contained a conical pit offset from the hearth, which we interpret as a ritual feature similar to a sipapu; these unique features are not found anywhere else in the area. These pit structures were built toward the end of the occupation of the Sacred Ridge site (ca. 790) and mark a shift in emphasis at the site to a ceremonial center for surrounding dispersed hamlets.

And finally, the Sacred Ridge site contained architectural forms that were unique to the northern Southwest during this time period. The ridge top contained four pit structures, one of which was extensively remodeled, and at least eight surface rooms. As shown in figure 2.8, Activity Area 3 occupied the central portion of the ridge and was composed of four distinct architectural elements: a large, circular surface structure (Feature 2); a remodeled pit structure and plaza enclosure (Features 23 and 17); and a feature that has been inferred to have been a tower (Feature 16). Initially, the ridge top contained three pit structures, Features 1, 23, and 18. At about A.D. 780–800, another pit structure (Feature 19) was built, and one of the existing pit structures (Feature 23) was de-roofed, and the floor plastered over. Concurrently, in Feature 23 the vent was excavated out and extended through the floor and through the deflector and hearth. This open trench became the entryway for a newly constructed circular, slab-lined, pole- and brush-roofed storage feature (Feature 2). A wooden-post fence was built around the entire complex (Feature 17).

A very substantial surface feature (Feature 16) was constructed adjacent to this complex. We interpret this feature to have been more than a single story in height based on several lines of evidence. First, the mound of the burned jacal associated with Feature 16 is estimated to have been between 40 and 80 cm thick prior to disturbance, suggesting a very substantial superstructure. Second, four primary postholes spaced less than 2 m apart were within the floor basin, while fifteen secondary postholes surrounded the perimeter of the basin. The large interior posts formed the core of the superstructure, which appeared to have been buttressed by the smaller secondary posts. Typical surface rooms in the region have similar floor areas but have at most four posts as the foundation of the superstructure. Thus, Feature 16 contained nearly five times the number of postholes of the typical surface room. Third,



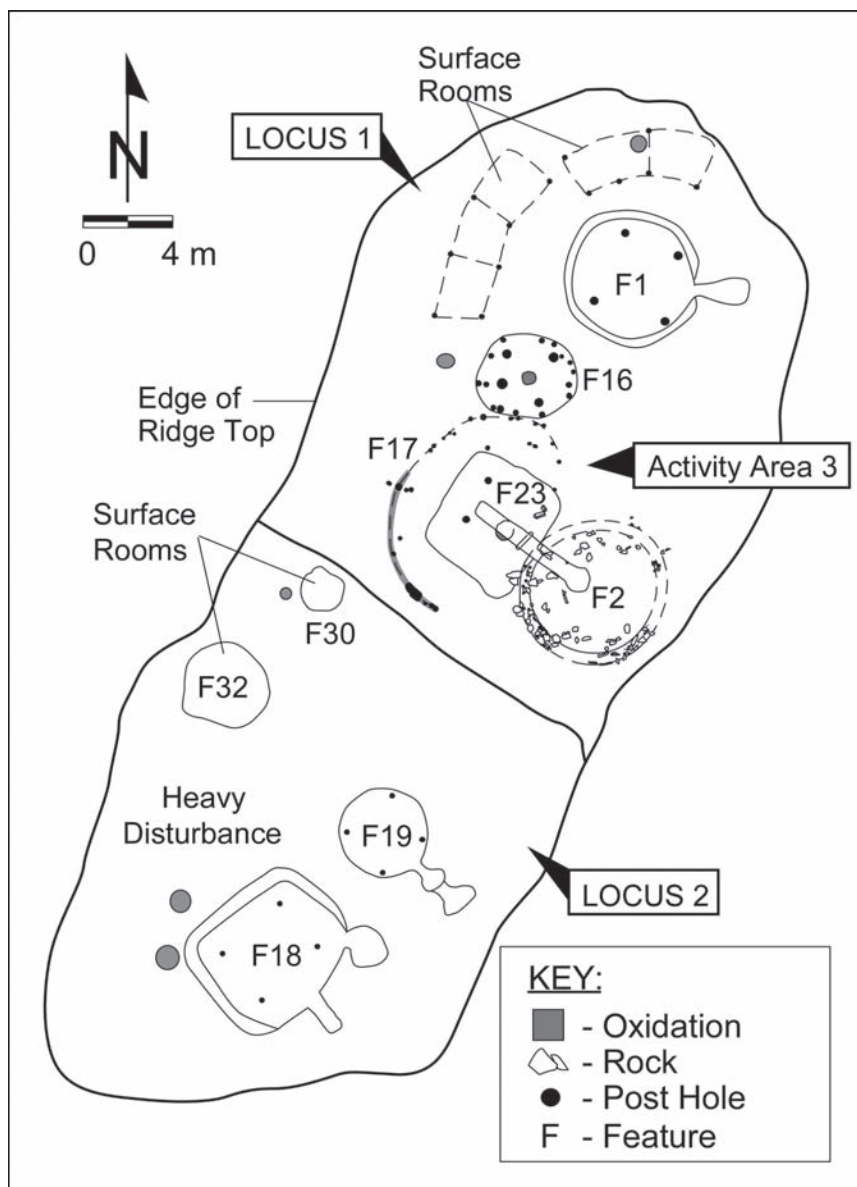


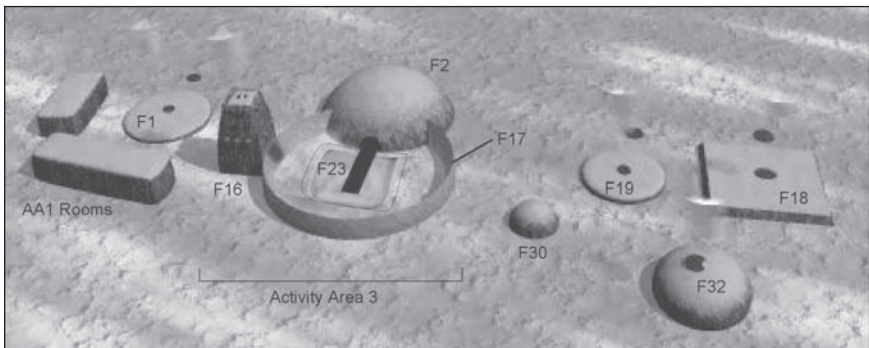
Figure 2.8. Map of the ridge-top complex at Sacred Ridge.

the Feature 16 postholes were extremely large relative to the floor area. The interior postholes were more than twice the diameter and depth of those found in any other surface structure in the project area and were large even

in comparison to those of a pit structure, such as Feature 19. The small size of the floor area, the large number and extremely large size of the posts, and the amount of burned adobe associated with this feature suggest that it was a two-story tower built of wood and adobe and was associated with the remodeled storage complex. All of this construction and remodeling on the ridge top occurred at or near the time that the large pit structures were built below the knoll and across the basin, between about 780 and 800.

Figure 2.9 depicts this ridge-top complex as it would have looked in A.D. 800. What is most intriguing is that the complex is enclosed by a large fence, or palisade, which would have restricted access to this complex and the allocative and authoritative resources stored there. The other notable characteristic is that while a two-story structure would not have significantly improved the view from the ridge top, it would have been visible from every other household in Ridges Basin, suggesting that the structure served more as a “look at” than a lookout. The buildings on the knoll at Sacred Ridge were designed to catch the eye, to stand out from surrounding architecture. At the same time, activities conducted within the tower and the associated enclosure would have been hidden and secret, suggesting a ceremonial function to the complex. Whatever the specific function(s), substantial structures are a way of impressing outsiders and of constructing and owning place, and we suspect that this complex served to do just this. “Castles not only use topographical features for practical purposes, but call for mental attitudes” (Warnke 1995:145).

Sacred Ridge dominated the landscape. It was architecturally and organizationally unique, and it appears to have been a locale in which both allocative and authoritative resources were concentrated. Faunal data support this interpretation. Sacred Ridge contained not only the highest proportion of large game (especially deer and elk) of any other site in the region, but also the highest proportion of high-utility elements of large game (i.e., those portions



**Figure 2.9.** Computer-generated reconstruction of the ridge-top complex at Sacred Ridge, A.D. 800, facing east.

of the carcass with the highest food value, such as upper limbs and ribs) (Potter and Edwards 2008). Moreover, large game remains were concentrated on top of the knoll, indicating that the occupants of these houses had greater access to these resources than others in the community, and that the houses on top of the knoll were indeed the homes of important families.

In sum, the identity of those who occupied the Sacred Ridge site was distinguished by (1) the unique architecture at the site and the restricted access to this architecture; (2) the large size and consistent shape of later pit structures on the site, and the unique floor features (and activities) associated with these structures; (3) the tight aggregation of those houses around the base of the knoll, in clear association with the specialized, highly visible architectural features; and (4) greater access to and/or control of high-valued food resources, especially deer and elk. Both spatial and stylistic association played important roles in establishing identity in this system. In addition, households on the east side of the basin were consistently the victims of violence, potentially from those occupying the west side, including the Sacred Ridge site, which would have further set apart the occupants of this large site.

Giddens explicitly writes that “agency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place” (Giddens 1984:9). In other words, agency is more about the range of options people have than the intended outcomes of their actions. To us, one of the surprising aspects of these data is the choices people made within the available structure, specifically the way they creatively transformed the choices available to them. Agency, then, is expressed by a new range of alternatives that became available through experimentation. We suggest that there are three key factors that account for this. The first is that there was not a substantial resident population in the basin prior to about 750. Basketmaker sites are present, but they are few in number and probably do not represent year-round residence, and there was a several-hundred-year hiatus between the Basketmaker and Pueblo I occupations. Thus Pueblo I households established their first residences in an area where a well-defined local structure was absent, where there was no history associated with the particular place, and where there was no prior history of aggregated settlement. There were individual or small-group histories, but no social history of the community writ large. Instead, it formed *de novo* in a previously unoccupied area. Schachner, this volume, discusses a similar settlement environment in El Morro Valley during the Pueblo III period (ca. A.D. 1250).

Second, these households likely came from different areas of the Southwest, with diverse cultural traditions, histories, cultural capital, and agendas. In this sense, the Ridges Basin area was a contested landscape, and identity construction played a role in successfully negotiating position on this landscape.

Third, at the time of settlement in Ridges Basin, the early Pueblo I period, there was as yet no established history or tradition of village aggregation. The social fields of village life, including institutions that promoted social integration, were still in their infancy and still under construction at this time. We suggest that the combination of these factors encouraged households to experiment with architectural styles to the point of inventing new types of buildings, like the tower complex and oversized, D-shaped pit structures at Sacred Ridge.

## THE AGENCY OF SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION

Giddens (1984:376) defines social integration as “reciprocity of practices between actors in circumstances of copresence.” One of the challenges that a community faces when it is composed of groups actively signaling unique identities through architectural style, spatial positioning, and violence is maintaining the reciprocity of practices between those groups. In the case of Ridges Basin, the milieu that allowed for and encouraged innovation and differentiation within the community also had implications for the ultimate breakdown of that system. And when it broke down, it did so in a dramatic and violent fashion.

One of the last events to have occurred at the Sacred Ridge site was the massacre of no fewer than thirty-five men and women of all ages and the extensive processing/desecration of their remains. The broken and burned remains were deposited and buried in an abandoned pit structure on the eastern edge of the site over a short period of time, suggesting that the massacre and subsequent processing occurred over a short period as well. Over 9,000 fragments of human bone were recovered from the pit structure. These remains exhibited evidence of chop marks, cut marks, blunt-force trauma, sharp-force trauma, burning, green stick fracturing, and peeling from breakage and subsequent ripping. These data indicate intensive perimortem processing of all of the individuals.

At present it does not appear that subsistence stress played a role in this behavior. Osteological data indicate a population of robust, generally healthy individuals who were not under any apparent dietary stress and generally lived to a ripe old age. Farming appears to have been supplemented by a variety of game, which was readily available in the resource-rich uplands and in the river valleys around the Durango area. Moreover, the sheer number of people that were killed, the rapidity with which it was done, and the energy spent in reducing their bones to unrecognizable fragments do not make sense if the motivation was strictly dietary. Neither is this behavior consistent with

simple warfare or intergroup conflict; the demographic profile of the dead suggests that family groups, rather than groups of warriors, were the victims of this incident. Why expend the energy to reduce the bones of thirty-five or more people beyond recognition when simply killing the group would eliminate them as competitors? The effort expended in processing these people's remains seems to have been triggered by another motivation: the utter destruction of their identities.

It is unclear at present who these people were and who killed them. Were they residents of Sacred Ridge? Were they visitors from outside of Ridges Basin? Or were they occupants of nearby house clusters? What is clear is that it would have taken a sizable number of people to carry out such an act, underscoring the capacity for collective human agency in these early villages.

That such an event happened at this early village site and not at later Pueblo I sites suggests that the structure necessary for aggregating an ethnically diverse population was not yet perfected and that, in fact, competing structures existed within the community. Social integration at Sacred Ridge appears to have failed as a direct result of a lack of common social beliefs and integrative rituals to provide community cohesion. Soon after this event, the entire Durango area was abandoned and remained unoccupied until Euro-Americans settled the area in the 1800s.

## CONCLUSION

If it is through agency that we define who we are and, in the process, who we are not, then there is no more powerful way of establishing one's identity in juxtaposition to "the other" than killing them and mutilating their remains. It is the ultimate act of identity construction, of permanently establishing one's relationship to the other. But, while we can speculate on the general motivations underlying this act (i.e., identity construction—or destruction), many practical questions remain. What was the ultimate effect of this act? What was gained, or what did people hope to gain, by this scale and display of brutality?

This event must have shattered the local population's sense of ontological security, that is, "their confidence or trust that the natural and social worlds are as they appear to be, including the basic existential parameters of self and social identity" (Giddens 1984:375). The rapid abandonment of the area soon after this event attests to this. But how did it affect how the place was perceived? Did it imbue it with power? Or did Sacred Ridge become a place to fear and avoid at all costs? How long after this event did people continue living at Sacred Ridge specifically and Ridges Basin in general? The latest date

from Ridges Basin is A.D. 809, six years later than the latest date on Sacred Ridge. But these are cutting and building dates, not abandonment dates, so it is difficult to pin this down. We do know that all in-use buildings at Sacred Ridge were burned at the final abandonment of the site, including all of the ridge-top buildings and pit structures. So it may have been soon after the massacre event that the abandonment and destruction of the village occurred.

And where did these people go, those who participated in this event, those who witnessed it, and those who heard about it secondhand? Did it enter into the historical consciousness of early Pueblo people and persist as part of their structure? If so, this may partly account for the lack of occupation in Ridges Basin for the next 1,000 years.

To conclude, we suggest that the agency of identity construction be considered a factor in motivating early expressions of village aggregation in the Southwest, especially in contexts in which it is likely that a variety of identity-conscious groups composed a newly formed community. It seems clear that the Durango area of the late 700s was a time of social stress and uncertainty. Indeed, it has been suggested that during times of economic and social stress and competition, the intensity of identity consciousness (e.g., ethnicity) increases, and as a consequence, material culture distinctiveness tends to increase (Hodder 1979, 1982; Lyons 1996). We propose that household aggregation, architectural experimentation, and violence were further techniques for negotiating social identity, and that they also increase during times of stress. Further, it seems likely that these factors played a more important role in the context of these early experimental phases of village formation, before the structure of this settlement form and the institutions of social integration (such as strong leadership roles) were more solidly established. In fact, it may be that structure became more unyielding through time in Pueblo society and group identity less negotiable within the community. As the structure that governed the formation of villages developed, group identity formation may have become more intimately tied to place and landscape (see Ortman chapter, this volume) and less the result of competitive actions at the household level. This idea ties in well with patterns of increased community “persistence” that have been documented in the northern Southwest during the later Pueblo periods (e.g., Varien 1999). What is clear is that the dynamics of identity construction played a significant role in the formation and dissolution of early villages in the northern Southwest, and that, more generally, the transformation of space into built environments and cultural landscapes (in this case in the form of dominant locales) is central to the processes that reproduce and transform society.



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## Exchanging Identities

### Early Pueblo I Red Ware Exchange and Identity North of the San Juan River

*James R. Allison*

In many societies, the activities we normally consider economic are an important means through which individuals create their social identities. The formation of individual social bonds through gift exchange and the promotion of group solidarity through shared productive activities or community ritual are important aspects of what Bourdieu (1998:93) has called the “noneconomic economy.” Gift exchange and community ritual are important means of distributing food, craft items, and valuables, and are therefore economic activities, but they also have social and political consequences that create and modify the social identities of the participants.

This chapter examines some of the relationships among exchange, individual identity, and group identity, beginning with several theoretical issues that are important to understanding these relationships. I then discuss the exchange of San Juan Red Ware in the northern San Juan, with special attention to the early Pueblo I period, when San Juan Red Ware exchange began. Data from excavated early Pueblo I sites in southwestern Colorado suggest San Juan Red Ware exchange played a role in the construction of individual identities. In the Dolores area, San Juan Red Ware was important to communal events and the construction of group-level identities during the late Pueblo I period, but this does not seem to be true for the early Pueblo I period.

#### THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS: THE CONCEPT OF IDENTITY IN ARCHAEOLOGY

The relationship between exchange and identity is multifaceted, in part because “identity” is “an elusive term embodying contradictory and heterogenous



definitions” (Meskell and Preucel 2004:122). Identity subsumes a wide variety of disparate phenomena, such as self-understanding, reputation, status, gender, linguistic- or ethnic-group membership, genealogy, geographical origin, and location within kinship or other social networks.

Archaeologists have used the term “identity” to refer to most or all of these phenomena. Many Southwestern archaeologists use “social identity” to refer to relatively immutable social-group membership based largely on place of origin and ancestry, conceiving these social identities at a variety of spatial and social scales ranging from small kin groups to entire regions. This approach has been productive because the Southwestern archaeological record contains abundant evidence that small social groups frequently relocated and that many residential communities included people of diverse origins (e.g., Bernardini 2005; Clark 2004; Duff 2002; Potter and Yoder, this volume; Varien et al. 2007; Wilshusen and Ortman 1999). Stone (2003) has criticized some aspects of this approach, however, arguing for more attention to variation in the importance of ethnic identity in specific times and places, and to differences in the ways individuals and groups negotiate their social identities.

A number of archaeologists have also emphasized the constructed nature of identity: individuals’ identities “are undergoing constant redefinition” (Evans 2006:62); are “multilateral, fluid, and situationally contingent” (Ferguson 2004:28); “fluid and contingent” (Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005:12); “plural and changing” (Casella and Fowler 2005:2); or “polyvalent and mutable” (Casella and Fowler 2005:6). These terms are undoubtedly applicable to many aspects of social identity, but identities also include immutable characteristics, such as biological sex, other physical characteristics, ancestry, and place of birth. In addition, individuals and social groups have histories, and they “bear the burden of having a particular heritage which they have handed down to themselves” (Thomas 1996:50). People construct their identities, and those of others, around the constraints and opportunities arising from these immutable characteristics, personal histories, and group histories and practices.

Archaeological studies of identity are constrained because individuals and their specific identities are only rarely accessible to archaeologists. But material culture often plays a large role in the construction of identity, and much information about the processes of identity construction is preserved in the archaeological record. By studying architectural variation, artifact forms and distributions, and the spatial organization of houses, public spaces, and landscapes—and thinking in new ways about the interrelations among these things and the human activities that produced them—archaeologists “can detail how the material world both engages, and is engaged in, the articulation of social identity, both of the individual and the group” (Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005:9).

## Identity and Exchange

Of the many possible connections between exchange of material goods and identity, I focus on three: (1) the way exchange links individuals and groups with different social identities; (2) the role of exchange in creating and materializing networks of social relations, which are important aspects of individual identities; and (3) the frequent importance of nonlocal goods obtained through exchange to communal events, which promote social-group solidarity and reinforce group-level identities. The latter two represent what Lederman (1991:220) calls “alternative, potentially contradictory, logics of exchange.” As such, goods acquired through exchange are important to events that strengthen identification with community or clan, but in the process of acquiring these goods, community members forge networks of trade partners that differentiate them from their neighbors and divide their loyalties.

### *Links across Social-Group Boundaries*

Pueblo ethnographies contain many examples of exchange among different linguistic and tribal groups, and such arrangements are common among small-scale societies worldwide. In the southwestern United States, the eastern pueblos traded extensively with hunter-gatherers, especially the Comanche, Ute, and Apache (Ford 1972; Spielmann 1991). Long-distance trade also linked the eastern and western pueblos, despite social and linguistic differences. Much of the interethnic trading was barter conducted without establishing long-term social relationships among individuals from the different groups. But still, it created interdependencies that linked otherwise unrelated groups across much of the Southwest and southern Plains.

### *Individual Exchange Networks*

Individual networks of trade partners may sometimes crosscut major social boundaries, as in the Tewa-Apache partnerships described by Ford (1972:33). More commonly, however, individuals habitually trade with people in neighboring communities with whom at least some group-level identities are shared and with whom there is often a kin relationship. The importance of these individual exchange networks to identity formation in many Melanesian societies is well documented; creating and managing large networks of trade partners are key to achieving “big-man” status, and at least moderate success in exchange is necessary to gain identity as a full-fledged adult member of society (e.g., Feil 1984; Lederman 1986; Strathern 1972). In addition, each individual has a unique trade network that partially overlaps with those of close kin, and the social relationships created are an

important part of individual identities: “their network relationships are what distinguish clansmen from one another” (Lederman 1991:229).

On a more theoretical level, these individualized networks point to an important distinction between *structure*, defined as a property of systems or collectivities (Giddens 1979:66), and individual *situations* (cf. Cowgill 2000:56). Kinship systems and ideas about kin obligations may be broadly shared within a society, and are thus part of structure in Giddens’s sense, but individuals’ actual kin relationships will vary. Because exchange in small-scale societies is strongly structured by kinship networks, these differences in individuals’ situations can give some people advantages in obtaining certain socially valued items, or, alternatively, certain goods may become socially valued because some individuals are better able to obtain them than others.

Southwestern ethnographies contain little detail about individuals’ trade relations, and they almost certainly were less important in establishing status than in the Melanesian cases mentioned above. Beaglehole (1937:72), however, describes how “social bonds newly cemented at times of personal ceremonial are validated by the distribution of native wealth through feasting, gift, or gift exchange and further implemented by the forging of immediate or consequent economic obligations.” These exchanges involve affinal and agnatic kin residing in different households, although usually within the same village. But prior to the formation of the large towns and settlement clusters that characterized the Pueblo IV and historic periods, these kinship links must have often included people residing in different settlements, as they sometimes did even in historic times. For example, Ford (1972) describes how, when epidemics reduced the population of the Tewa pueblos, the resulting lack of suitable mates often required people to marry outside their village. “This in turn established a network of affines with whom goods could be exchanged or borrowed. . . .” (Ford 1972:40).

Differences in individuals’ kinship networks are inevitable and are likely to lead to inter-household differences in exchange participation and the distribution of imported goods. In any society where mating networks are larger than the scale of the residential community, most individuals will have kin in neighboring communities, although the number and nature of those kin relationships will depend on many factors, including family size, who marries whom, and the degree of residential mobility. A few individuals may have unusually large networks of kin or kin in more distant villages than other members of their community, and they may be advantaged in acquiring trade goods from distant sources. These individual situations are partially given, as people cannot control what family they are born into. But individuals can improve their situations by marrying well, by emphasizing certain kin relationships over others, or by establishing friendships or fictive kinship ties

with well-placed trade partners. Differences in individual exchange networks and attempts to improve them both are likely to have been important in pre-hispanic Southwestern societies and should lead to observable differences among households in the nature and abundance of exchanged goods.

### *Exchange and the Reproduction of Group-Based Identities*

People in small-scale societies often belong to a variety of social groups based on residence, kinship, or voluntary association. Individuals simultaneously have multiple group-level identities based on their membership in specific moieties, clans, communities, or sodalities, and crosscutting membership in such groups is an important means of societal integration. Membership in a clan, sodality, or other named social group represents a group-level identity that endures despite the fact that membership changes through time as some group members die and others are born; these memberships “signify social relationships projected backward in time. By means of clan names, individuals assert an identity . . . with some of the people who have proceeded them” (Lederman 1986:22).

Group solidarity is strengthened through collective activities. In fact, in the absence of collective action, these social groups are little more than abstractions. They become concrete entities through such symbolically charged communal events as feasting, in which group members share the substance of life, or dances, during which group members demonstrate their shared identity by coordinating their movements. Communal events may occur at a variety of scales, involving a clan, a sodality, an entire community, or members of multiple communities. Although many communal events involve religiously meaningful practices that may be termed ritual, often their entertainment value is also important, and particular events vary in the degree to which they emphasize entertainment or ritual.

Spielmann (2002) has recently described how the need for socially valued goods for use in communal ritual stimulates production and exchange in small-scale societies. Goods that come from distant places, that are associated with symbolically charged places, and/or that have elaborated forms or decoration become charged with symbolic meaning, and become important to social reproduction in ritual contexts. Ethnographic Pueblo societies obtained a variety of ritually important goods through exchange, including buffalo heads, hair, and skin; parrot feathers; marine shell and turquoise ornaments; wild plant products; and red ochre (Bandelier 1890; Ford 1972; Parsons 1922:174–75). Exchange of specific kinds of pottery vessels may also have been important to communal ritual; in the ethnographic Southwest food was often brought to communal events in baskets or bowls (e.g., Parsons 1933:96),

and in several prehispanic cases food for feasts was prepared or served in pottery vessels obtained through exchange (Blinman 1989; Spielmann 2004). This was the case for the central portion of the northern San Juan region.

### **SAN JUAN RED WARE EXCHANGE IN THE NORTHERN SAN JUAN REGION**

Several studies indicate that by the late Pueblo I period (A.D. 850–900), most San Juan Red Ware production was concentrated in a relatively small area, but red ware was distributed well beyond its primary production zone. Both red ware distributions and instrumental neutron activation analysis (INAA) indicate that most late Pueblo I San Juan Red Ware was produced in what is now southeastern Utah (Hegmon et al. 1995, 1997), although at least small-scale production occurred in southwestern Colorado. Specifically, the INAA analyses identified three groups of red ware, two of which appear to represent production in southeastern Utah: the Nancy Patterson group, probably associated with production in or near Montezuma Canyon; and San Juan Red Ware, Group 1, most strongly associated with sites west of Montezuma Canyon. San Juan Red Ware, Group 3, was represented only by five sherds from the Duckfoot site, near Cortez, Colorado, and probably reflects some production in southwestern Colorado (Glowacki et al. 2002).

At the late Pueblo I McPhee Village, near Dolores, Colorado, San Juan Red Ware bowls apparently were used as serving bowls in “potluck”-style feasting, which occurred in or near oversized pit structures (Blinman 1989). Residents of these large structures apparently hosted feasts at which hunted game animals, particularly jackrabbits, were an important food (Potter 1997, 2000; Potter and Ortman 2004). The residents of McPhee Village used San Juan Red Ware vessels in a variety of domestic contexts, as red ware sherds are widely dispersed throughout the village, but the unusual concentration of red ware in middens associated with oversized pit structures suggests that they also used them to bring food to these communal gatherings. Middens associated with oversized pit structures have high proportions of bowls of all kinds, as well as high proportions of red ware, suggesting food was brought in a variety of serving bowls, including red ware vessels.

By the late 800s, therefore, San Juan Red Ware exchange was important to communal ritual and, presumably, the reproduction of group-level identities in at least one southwestern Colorado community. Most San Juan Red Ware vessels were produced to the west of McPhee Village and acquired through trade, and then some were used to bring food to communal feasts. No differences in individual or household access to San Juan Red Ware have been documented,

but the nature of the aggregated villages of this time period makes it difficult to isolate assemblages associated with individual households.

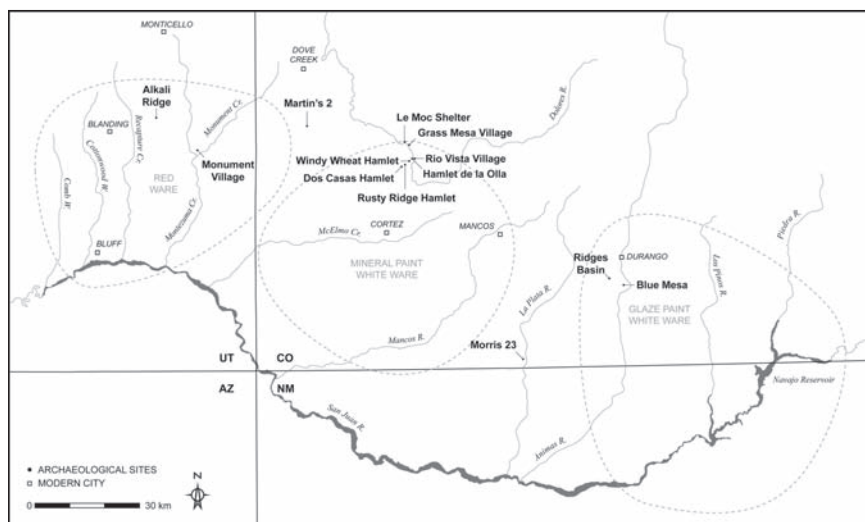
Thus far, studies of San Juan Red Ware production and distribution have focused on the late Pueblo I period, after about A.D. 850. But San Juan Red Ware production and exchange started a century earlier, and we know little about the social contexts of that earlier exchange, or about when or how San Juan Red Ware became a socially valued good used in communal ritual. The remainder of this chapter examines San Juan Red Ware exchange in this earlier period, between about A.D. 760 and 820, and the social contexts within which this exchange was embedded. I first provide a brief description of the social landscape of the northern San Juan region during the early Pueblo I period, focusing on differences in settlement organization, pottery technology, and pottery design; these data suggest that the northern San Juan region was inhabited by people with several distinct local traditions. I then use pottery data from early Pueblo I sites near the modern towns of Dolores and Durango, Colorado, to investigate household-level variation in red ware exchange and the relationships between red ware exchange, communal ritual, and burial ritual in the early Pueblo I period.

## THE NORTHERN SAN JUAN IN EARLY PUEBLO I

In the late A.D. 700s and early 800s, the northern San Juan drainage was inhabited by people with several distinct pottery traditions. In the western part of the region, most of the decorated pottery was red ware. To the east, white ware was more common, with mineral-painted white ware predominating from the McElmo Creek drainage to about the La Plata River and glaze-painted white ware from the Animas drainage east (figure 3.1). Wilshusen and Ortman (1999; Wilshusen 1999) have made a similar argument for recognizing three centers of pottery production at approximately A.D. 840, but distinct technological-style zones are recognizable at least as early as the late 700s.<sup>1</sup> These technological-style zones correspond with differences in pottery design styles, architecture, settlement patterns, and site layouts, suggesting that groups with distinct social identities occupied different areas in early Pueblo I times. But despite the differences in social identity, these groups were linked by exchange networks, through which red ware pottery moved.

### Early Pueblo I Villages in the West

During the late A.D. 700s, several aggregated villages formed in what are now southeastern Utah and far western Colorado, within or near the zone of

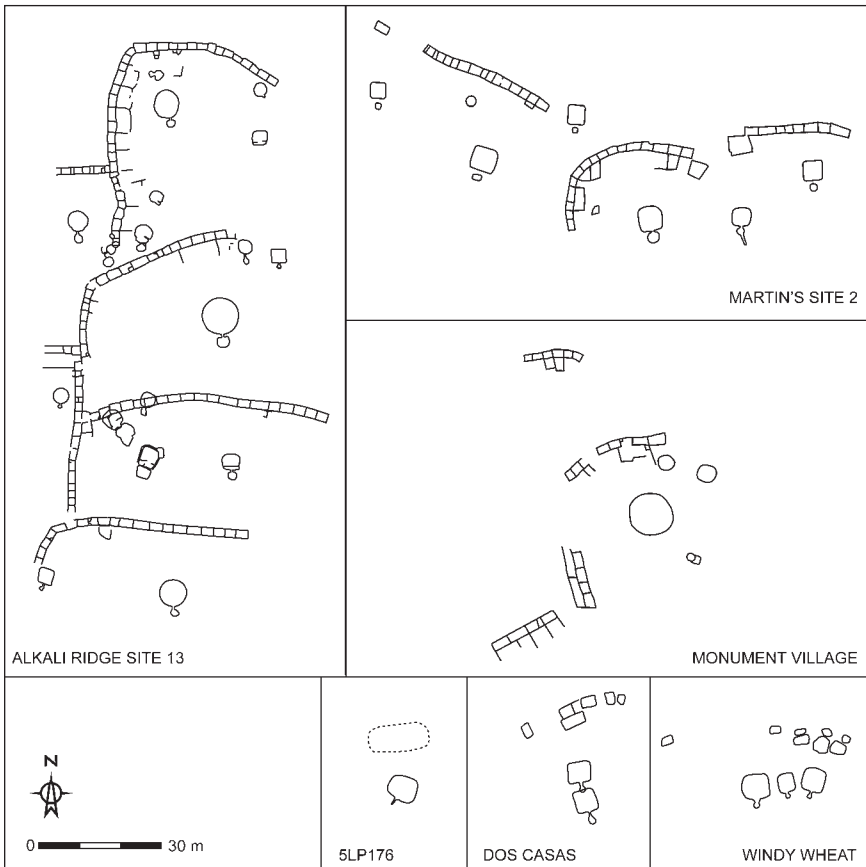


**Figure 3.1.** Map of the northern San Juan region, showing the locations of sites and project areas mentioned in the text, and the approximate limits of Pueblo I pottery traditions.

red ware production. The largest and best known of these is Site 13, on Alkali Ridge near Blanding, Utah (figure 3.1), but excavation data are also available from at least two other smaller villages from the late 700s: Monument Village (Patterson 1975) and Paul S. Martin's Site 2 (Martin and Rinaldo 1939). All three of these villages comprise long rows of surface rooms, with contiguous domestic rooms, each fronting one or two storage rooms (figure 3.2). These village layouts prefigure the aggregated villages that are common across much of the northern San Juan in the mid- to late 800s, but during early Pueblo I times, they appear to be restricted to the western part of the region.

Site 13, Martin's Site 2, and the early Pueblo I portion of Monument Village all probably were built and occupied within a relatively short time period in the late A.D. 700s. A total of nine tree-ring dates from Site 13 suggest construction between about A.D. 760 and 780.<sup>2</sup> Martin's Site 2 yielded 104 tree-ring dates (Robinson and Harrill 1974:14–15), including 15 cutting dates from the A.D. 760s, along with a noncutting date of A.D. 771. No dates are available from Monument Village, but in the surface rooms there the earliest San Juan Red Ware type, Abajo Red-on-orange, predominates over Bluff Black-on-red (which becomes common after A.D. 800) by more than 30 to 1, suggesting that the early Pueblo I occupation at Monument Village also dates to the late 700s.

These villages clearly were significant population centers, although it is difficult to be sure just how large they were. Site 13 is much larger than the



**Figure 3.2.** Schematic maps of large early Pueblo I villages in the western part of the northern San Juan region, and small early Pueblo I sites from Dolores (Dos Casas Hamlet and Windy Wheat Hamlet) and Ridges Basin (5LP176).

other two villages, but none of them were completely excavated. At Monument Village, later components (dating from late Pueblo I through Pueblo III) may add to the difficulty by obscuring some early Pueblo I architecture. Using the formula suggested by Wilshusen and Blinman (1992:257–58) for estimating the number of households from the roomblock length in Pueblo I villages, it appears that Site 13 comprised about 40–45 households, with 15–18 households at Site 2 and 8–10 household in the excavated portion of Monument Village. Assuming households average about 5.5 people (again following Wilshusen and Blinman 1992), this suggests populations of roughly 200–250 people for Site 13, 80–100 people for Site 2, and at least 45–50 for Monument Village.

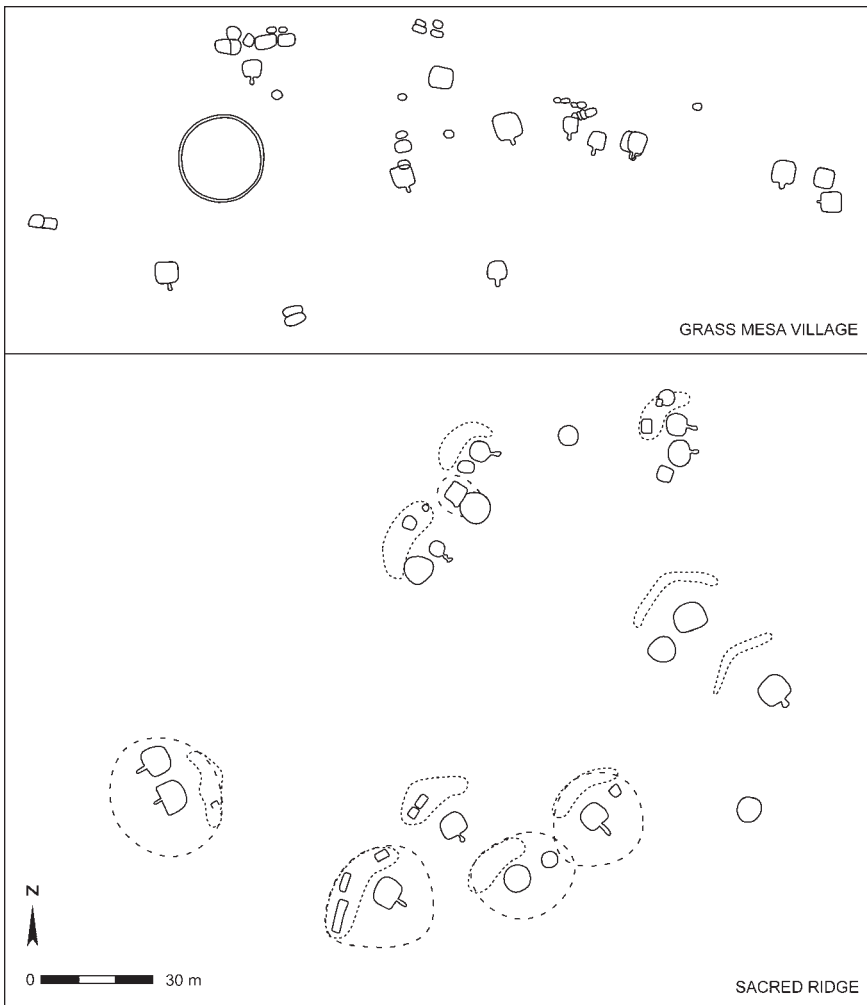


Site 13 and Monument Village both contain unusually large pit structures, which may have housed communal rituals. At Monument Village, Component A is circular with a bench, similar in shape to other structures identified as Pueblo I great kivas, although the floor area is only about 90 m<sup>2</sup>, making it smaller than most great kivas. At Site 13, Pit House B is shaped more like a typical early Pueblo I pit house, with wing walls and a small antechamber, but its floor area is about 64 m<sup>2</sup>, roughly three times the size of ordinary pit structures at the site.

### **Early Pueblo I Settlement Patterns in Southwestern Colorado**

Settlement patterns across most of southwestern Colorado in the late 700s were much different, consisting primarily of small sites inhabited by one or a few households rather than the more nucleated village pattern seen to the west. In most cases, these small sites probably were part of dispersed, multi-site communities (Wilshusen 1999:225). In the Dolores area, there appear to be at least two clusters of early Pueblo I habitations. One, in the central part of the area investigated by the Dolores Archaeological Program (DAP), includes five sites with tree-ring dates in the late 700s: Dos Casas Hamlet, Windy Wheat Hamlet, Hamlet de la Olla, Rusty Ridge Hamlet, and Pit Structure 1 at Rio Vista Village (Brisbin 1986; Brisbin et al. 1986; Etzkorn 1986; Fields and Nelson 1986; Hewitt 1986). These sites are spread along a roughly east-west line about 4 km long. A few kilometers to the north, a denser concentration of early Pueblo I habitations occurs at Grass Mesa Village (Lipe et al. 1988). The early Pueblo I occupation at Grass Mesa is obscured by the large late Pueblo I village there, but it included at least 13 pit structures and a large, 400 m<sup>2</sup> great kiva, which was apparently constructed just after A.D. 800 (figure 3.3). These features all cluster within an area about 220 x 100 m, and the early Pueblo I occupation at Grass Mesa may be large enough to qualify as a village. It is, however, laid out quite differently than the villages described above; it lacks the long rows of contiguous aboveground rooms that typify the western villages and is much more spread out.

The Durango area also boasts a large concentration of early Pueblo I sites, including notable concentrations in Ridges Basin (Potter and Yoder, this volume) and on Blue Mesa. Wilshusen (1999:225) describes the Blue Mesa cluster as including 63 roomblocks and estimates a population of more than 600 people, although Chuipka and Potter (2007) suggest 200–300 people is more reasonable. A few kilometers away, Ridges Basin includes numerous small habitations that form several small, discrete clusters, and the Sacred Ridge site, which includes 22 pit structures within a 200 x 100 m area (figure 3.3).



**Figure 3.3.** Schematic maps of early Pueblo I features at Grass Mesa Village, the largest early Pueblo I site in the Dolores area, and Sacred Ridge, the largest site in Ridges Basin.

Potter and Yoder (this volume) provide more detail on the Ridges Basin sites, emphasizing architectural variation that indicates households within Ridges Basin maintained diverse social identities. On a larger spatial scale, however, the Ridges Basin populations seem to have shared a local tradition distinct from their contemporaries to the west. In particular, it is worth noting how different the layout of Sacred Ridge is from Site 13 and the other

western villages, and the different forms of sociability implied by the site layouts (Potter and Chuipka 2007). At Site 13, people occupying aboveground domestic rooms shared walls with their neighbors. They almost certainly had frequent unplanned interactions, arising from the fact that room entrances were closely spaced, and it was difficult to avoid the inhabitants of nearby rooms. At Sacred Ridge, habitations are more dispersed, and in at least some cases, stockades allowed households to control access to rooms and outdoor work areas, making accidental encounters with neighbors less likely (Potter and Chuipka 2007). People living in more dispersed single-household farmsteads or in hamlets with two or three households would have had even less frequent interaction with neighbors, and the accidental encounters with neighbors that must have been common at Site 13 probably rarely occurred.

### **Regional Variation in Early Pueblo I Pottery**

Pottery assemblages from the three western villages include large amounts of San Juan Red Ware. Brew (1946) does not report pottery sherd counts from Site 13 but states that the ratio of red to white ware “is better than 1,000 to 1.” This probably should not be taken literally, although Brew’s excavations did recover large numbers of red ware vessels and sherds but few white ware sherds and only two early white ware bowls. Patterson’s (1975) sherd counts from Monument Village include about 12 percent red ware and 1.5 percent white, but ongoing reanalysis of the collection suggests the true red ware percentage is about 19 percent. Martin (1939:486) tallies almost 15,000 sherds from Site 2, of which 12 percent are red ware and about one percent white. The ratio of red to white ware at the two western villages for which sherd counts are available is thus about 12 or 13 to 1; it may be considerably higher at Site 13, although probably not as high as 1,000 to 1.

San Juan Red Ware occurs in lower frequencies on contemporaneous sites to the east. In early Pueblo I contexts in the DAP project area, about 9 percent of the pottery sherds are San Juan Red Ware, while just over 3 percent are white. One percent of the total pottery assemblage from the Ridges Basin sites is San Juan Red Ware; about 12 percent is white ware, reversing the red-to-white ware ratio of the western villages.

These red ware distributions provide good evidence that most early Pueblo I red ware was produced in the western part of the region, as earlier studies have suggested for the late Pueblo I period. Preliminary INAA results on early Pueblo I red ware appear to confirm this. These INAA studies are ongoing, but these results show that 9 of 15 red ware sherds from Monument Village belong to the Nancy Patterson Group identified in the previous studies, confirming the association of the Nancy Patterson Group with Montezuma

Canyon (Cecil et al. 2006). Seventeen of 108 red ware sherds analyzed from Ridges Basin also belong to the Nancy Patterson Group, while 53 belong to San Juan Red Ware, Group 1. At least two small groups not identified in the previous INAA analyses are present in the Ridges Basin sample as well. More samples are currently being analyzed, but it appears that southeastern Utah sources account for approximately two-thirds of the Ridges Basin red ware pottery sherds, while the origin of the other third is ambiguous.

Several aspects of the red ware bowls distinguish them from contemporary white ware vessels, and the foreignness of red ware vessels in southwestern Colorado may have contributed to their status as socially valued goods. The most obvious distinction is the color, but painted designs may be even more telling. Designs on Abajo Red-on-orange are highly variable, but most are completely unlike contemporary white ware designs (figure 3.4). Many of the designs use complex, two-dimensional symmetry, while contemporary white wares have rotational symmetry and much sparser designs. Washburn (2006) has recently argued that Abajo Red-on-orange designs represent a nonlocal design system and probably reflect the movement into the area of people from the south. This may well be true—the two-dimensional designs on Abajo Red-on-orange are certainly unprecedented in local pottery—but regardless of their origins, the differences in color and design suggest that the makers of Abajo Red-on-orange were actively signaling a group-level social identity distinct from that of their trade partners to the east.

Early Pueblo I white ware technology and designs also vary across the region, with a distinction between mineral-painted white ware west of the La Plata River and glaze-painted white ware from the La Plata River drainage east. At Dolores, there are 29 glaze-painted sherds out of 245 total painted white ware sherds (about 12 percent) in the early Pueblo I samples I discuss below, but 27 of them are from one feature at Grass Mesa Village and may represent a partially reconstructible vessel. The other two glaze-painted sherds come from other features at Grass Mesa, while none of the other small early Pueblo I sites have any. In contrast, iron-based mineral paint occurs on only 11 percent of the painted white ware from the Ridges Basin sites; the rest have either glaze or organic paint.<sup>3</sup>

Early Pueblo I white ware designs also vary. Glaze-painted white ware bowls tend to have distinctive layouts that almost always include a small circle in the bowl bottom (figure 3.4, e–h) and make extensive use of concentric circles, including “walking circles” (e.g., figure 3.4h). These characteristics are less common on mineral-painted bowls from west of the La Plata drainage, which more often incorporate rectilinear elements. At least two local white ware technological and stylistic traditions thus occurred in the region, with the division somewhere near the La Plata River (figure 3.1).

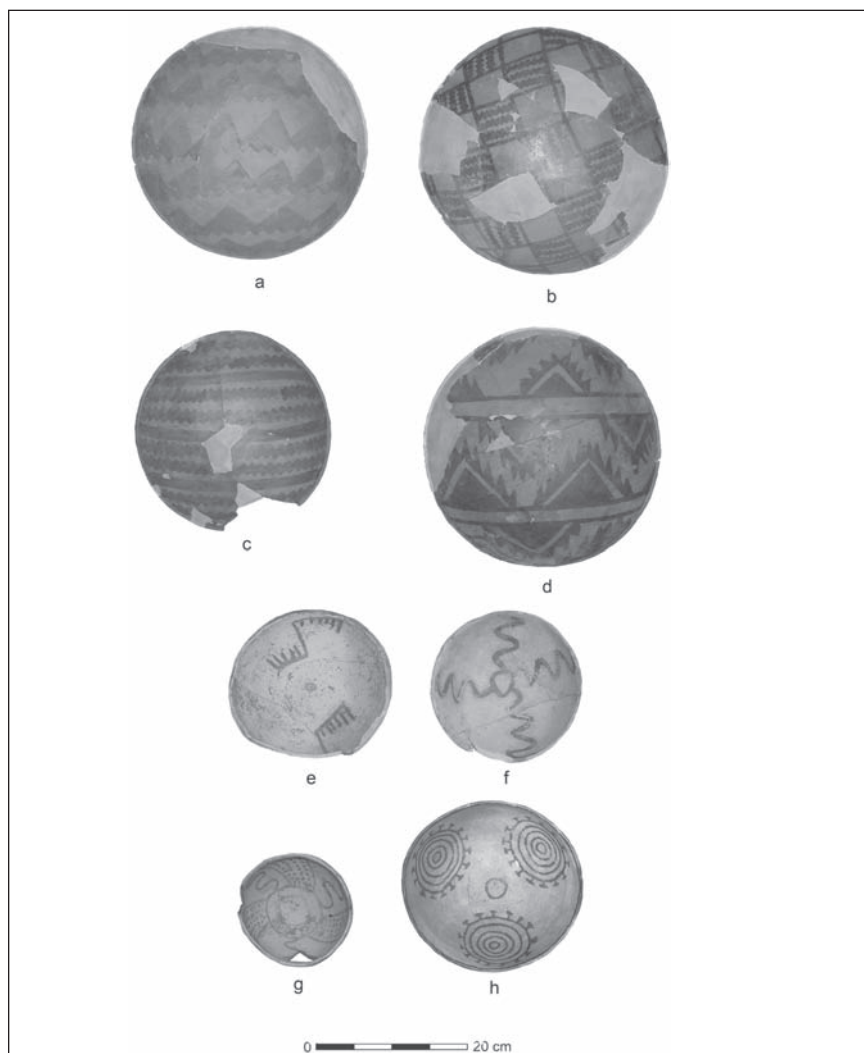


Figure 3.4. Comparison of designs on Abajo Red-on-orange bowls from Site 13 on Alkali Ridge (a–d) and Rosa Black-on-white bowls from Ridges Basin (e–h). The four Abajo Red-on-orange bowls are all currently in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard: a is Peabody Number 33-44-10/3011, from Room 100A, cf. Brew (1946) Figure 57c; b is Peabody Number 33-44-10/3035, from Room 297, cf. Brew's Figure 65b; c is Peabody Number 33-44-10/3022, from Room 218, cf. Brew's Figure 104e; d is Peabody Number 33-44-10/3040, from Pit house G, cf. Brew's Figure 61a. Three of the Rosa Black-on-white vessels (e–g) come from the recent excavations at 5LP185, while the fourth (h) comes from Homer Root's 1966 excavations at Sacred Ridge (5LP245), and is in the Fort Lewis College collections (Number 66,2,222). Used by permission of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

## EARLY PUEBLO I RED WARE EXCHANGE

The several distinct early Pueblo I pottery traditions correspond with differences in community layout and architecture, suggesting diverse localized social identities. Red ware exchange linked people across the region despite, or possibly in part because of, their different local traditions.

There are a number of interesting questions raised by this situation, four of which I will address here: (1) Given that San Juan Red Ware was evidently important to ritual feasts a few generations later, had this association with feasting already developed by the late 700s? (2) Are there differences among neighboring early Pueblo I sites in the amount of red ware? (3) If so, do they represent a concentration of red ware in ritual or public settings, or differential access to red ware by some households, which might reflect differences in individual kinship or trade networks? and (4) Are there possible associations with other kinds of communal ritual? I will first look in general at possible relationships between San Juan Red Ware and feasting in the early Pueblo I period, and then I will take a closer look at red ware distributions in the Dolores area and Ridges Basin, whose early Pueblo I residents acquired most, if not all, red ware through exchange.

### San Juan Red Ware and Early Pueblo I Feasting

At Site 13, in the probable red ware production zone, Spielmann (2004) has recently argued that Abajo Red-on-orange bowls were cached in certain rooms, some of which were associated with oversized pit structures. She suggests that this might indicate use of these vessels in feasts.

The best example of this possible caching of feast-related materials comes from three adjacent rooms (Rooms 99, 99A, and 100A) located just north of the oversized pit structure, Pit House B. These rooms contained seven Abajo Red-on-orange bowls,<sup>4</sup> more than a dozen gray ware jars, and six other Abajo vessels, including four seed jars, a beaker, and a squash effigy. The latter two vessels are unusual forms that likely had ritual associations, and Room 100A also had nine metates and 15 manos. Abundant food-processing and cooking implements were thus stored in association with serving bowls and possible ritual vessels, and these were in proximity to the oversized pit structure, which was the most likely location for communal ritual. Also, two of the bowls from the site (though not in close association with the oversized pit structure) are very large, with diameters over 30 cm; their size alone suggests their use outside of ordinary domestic contexts.

Spielmann (2004:224) suggests that the communal feasting that is hinted at in the Site 13 data may have represented new ritual practices and a novel form of ideology, and that the reason red ware bowls obtained through exchange

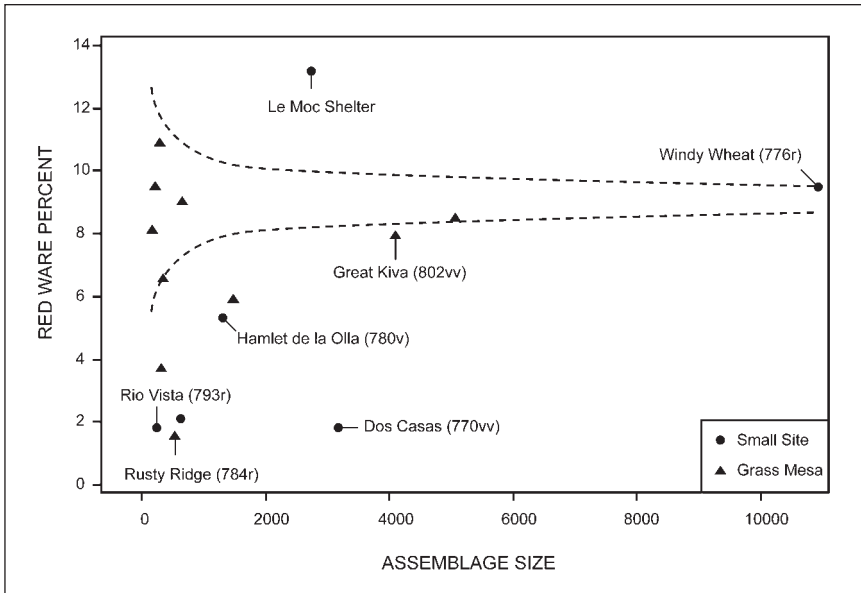
became important to communal feasting at post A.D. 800s sites in southwestern Colorado was because of their association with the large aggregated early Pueblo I villages, particularly Site 13, and the new ideological and ritual practices they represented. A closer look at the distribution of red ware in early Pueblo I sites from Dolores and Ridges Basin suggests, however, that in the areas where it was acquired through exchange, red ware was probably not associated with communal feasting during the early Pueblo I period.

### Early Pueblo I Red Ware from Dolores

Most of the sites excavated by the DAP date primarily to the latter part of the Pueblo I period. Early Pueblo I occupations are less common, and many are partially obscured by later materials, but there are at least sixteen pottery assemblages that appear to be unmixed and to date between A.D. 760 and 820. Ten of these come from features at Grass Mesa Village, including Pit Structure 7, the large great kiva. Five others come from small sites in the central part of the DAP study area; the last assemblage comes from an early Pueblo I component at Le Moc Shelter, located in the Dolores River canyon, about 1.5 km northwest of Grass Mesa. Except for the great kiva, all the assemblages appear to be refuse associated with ordinary domestic occupations.

The percentage of red ware in these assemblages varies from 1.5 to 13.2 percent, with a mean and median of 9.1 and 7.2 percent, respectively. Figure 3.5 illustrates this by plotting the percentages of red ware against the sample size for each assemblage; the lines in the plot represent the boundaries of a 90 percent confidence band around the mean percentage, which narrows as assemblage size increases. This interval is estimated using the normal approximation to the binomial distribution and can be interpreted as the range within which about 90 percent of the observed red ware percentages should fall if sampling error were the only important source of variation. In this sample, one or two data points outside this interval would be expected from random variation alone. In figure 3.5, however, more than half of the points are outside the 90 percent confidence interval, and some are quite far from it.

A number of the red ware percentages fall well below the expected values. This suggests that while all households had some access to red ware, some were not very active in acquiring it. Other households have many times as much red ware as those with the smallest amount. For tree-ring dated proveniences, the labels in figure 3.5 provide the latest associated tree-ring date, showing that no temporal trend is apparent. This kind of variation in trade participation among closely contemporaneous households is also evident in other cases involving pottery exchange in the American Southwest (e.g., Allison 2000; Gilpin and Purcell 2000), and probably should be expected



**Figure 3.5.** Plot of percentages of red ware versus sample size for DAP early Pueblo I pottery assemblages. The dashed lines represent the upper and lower boundaries of a 90 percent confidence band for red ware proportions based on the proportion in the combined DAP early Pueblo I assemblages.

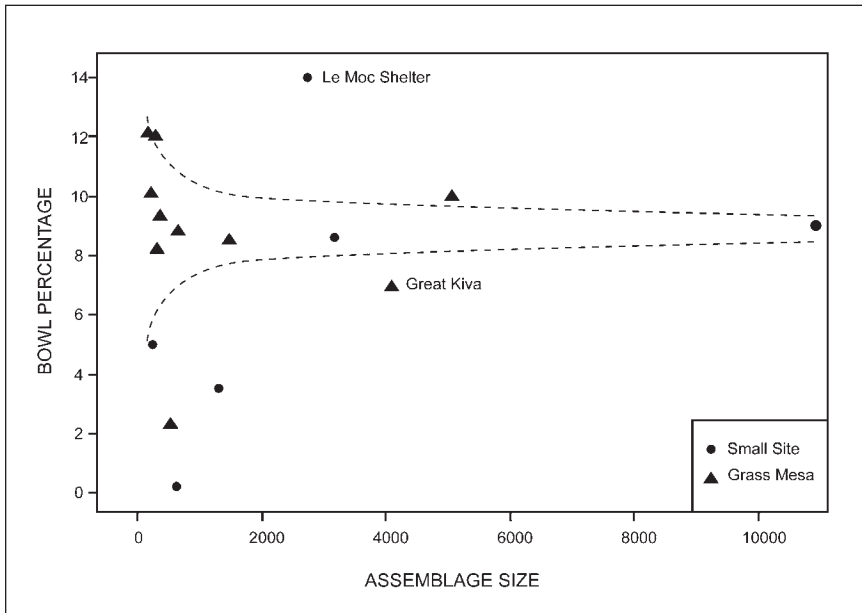
whenever data resolution allows comparisons at the household level. It is consistent with, and probably reflects, the existence of individualized exchange networks.

The Grass Mesa Village great kiva not only lacks an unusual concentration of red ware, it actually falls below the 90 percent confidence band in figure 3.5. This suggests that whatever communal events might have been held in the great kiva, they did not involve red ware vessels in quantities out of proportion with their abundance in domestic contexts.

The high percentage of red ware in the Le Moc Shelter assemblage is also notable. It is possible that the shelter itself held some special significance that caused unusual amounts of red ware to be deposited there, but the early Pueblo I pottery assemblage is associated with what appears to be an ordinary pit structure. It appears more likely that Le Moc is simply an ordinary domestic context occupied by a household with unusually strong participation in red ware exchange.

At McPhee Village, the argument that oversized pit structures were used for “potluck”-style feasts is supported in part by unusual quantities of bowl sherds. The relative abundance of bowl sherds also varies considerably



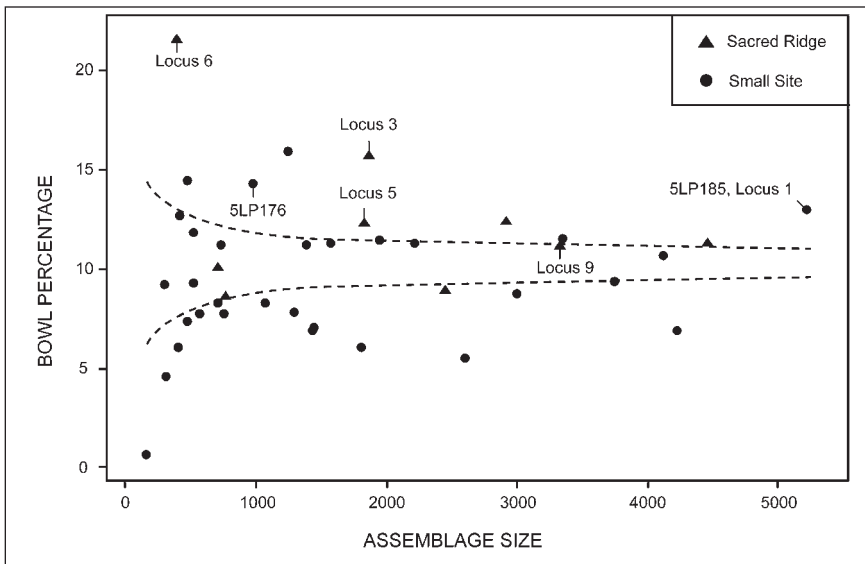


**Figure 3.6.** Plot of the percentage of bowl sherds versus sample size for DAP early Pueblo I pottery assemblages. The dashed lines represent the upper and lower boundaries of a 90 percent confidence band for bowl proportions based on the proportion in the combined DAP early Pueblo I assemblages.

among the early Pueblo I proveniences (figure 3.6). Again, the proportion of bowl sherds in the Grass Mesa great kiva assemblage is a little lower than expected, and Le Moc Shelter is the highest. In fact, figures 3.5 and 3.6 exhibit a number of similarities that can be attributed to the fact that in these assemblages most bowl sherds are red ware, and the proportions of red ware and of bowl sherds are therefore positively correlated ( $r^2 = .61$ ). The low proportion of sherds from bowls in association with the great kiva suggests that the early Pueblo I great kiva was not the site of “potluck”-style feasts.

### Early Pueblo I Red Ware from Ridges Basin

In Ridges Basin, there are forty-two pottery assemblages associated with early Pueblo I habitations. Most of these are from small single-household habitation sites or loci within multi-household sites that contain spatially discrete habitation areas. In contrast, two sites within Ridges Basin stand out as possible locations for ritual or other communal events. Sacred Ridge (SLP245) is the largest site in Ridges Basin, and it has four oversized pit



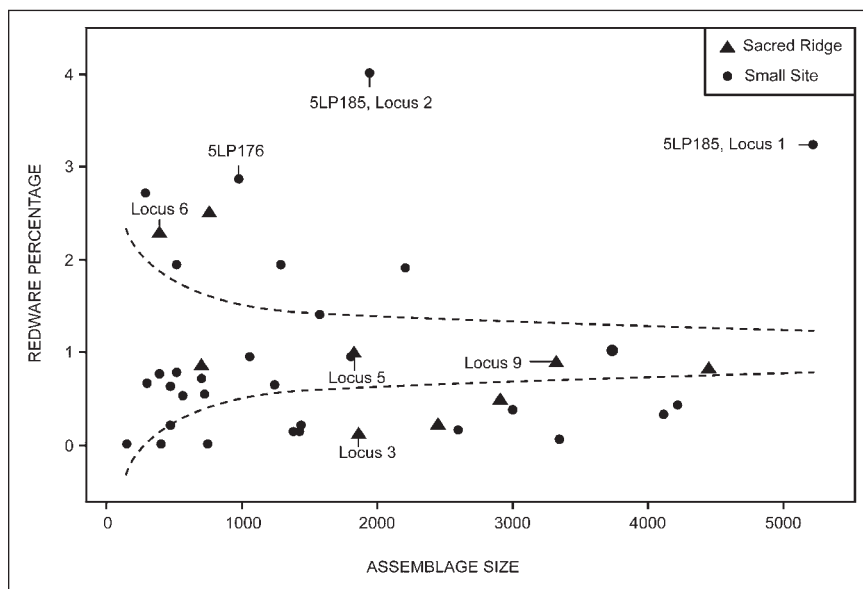
**Figure 3.7.** Plot of the percentage of bowl sherds versus sample size for early Pueblo I sites in Ridges Basin. The dashed lines represent the upper and lower boundaries of a 90 percent confidence band for bowl proportions based on the proportion in the combined Ridges Basin early Pueblo I assemblages.

structures with floor areas of more than 30 m<sup>2</sup> (Potter and Chuipka 2007). If there was communal feasting in Ridges Basin during early Pueblo I, Sacred Ridge is the most likely place for it to have occurred. The second unusual site, 5LP185, was originally a habitation site, but after the occupants stopped living there, it was used as a cemetery. Dozens of individuals were buried there, many with pottery vessels as grave offerings.

Variation among Ridges Basin assemblages in the relative abundance of bowl sherds does provide some circumstantial evidence for communal “potluck”-style feasting (figure 3.7). Specifically, the assemblage with the highest proportion of bowl sherds is Locus 6 at Sacred Ridge, one of four loci there with oversized pit structures. Two other Sacred Ridge loci with oversized pit structures also have higher than expected percentages of bowl sherds, and the fourth locus with an oversized pit structure is right at the upper boundary of the 90 percent confidence interval. Two more of the nine Sacred Ridge loci and one of the two loci from 5LP185 also have an overabundance of bowls. Several small sites that are less likely to have hosted communal gatherings also have higher than expected percentages of bowl sherds, however, and much of the variation in bowl frequencies is not easily explained by reference to feasting.

If the abundance of bowls associated with the Sacred Ridge oversized pit structures or at 5LP185 is in fact related to communal feasting at those locations, red ware does not seem to have been consistently important to those events. Locus 6 at Sacred Ridge has higher than expected amounts of red ware, but the other three loci with oversized pit structures are either within or below the expected range (figure 3.8). Red ware is also unusually common at Sacred Ridge Locus 1, which includes an unusual large aboveground structure that could have stockpiled foods for communal feasts (Potter and Yoder, this volume; Potter and Chuipka 2007). Access to that structure appears to have been controlled, however, and there are no obvious public facilities in Locus 1.

Both bowls and red ware are unusually abundant in two other assemblages, in addition to Sacred Ridge Locus 6. One is site 5LP176, a small site, with a single pit structure and a few associated surface rooms (figure 3.2), and it lacks a large structure or plaza area where large gatherings could have been held. Site 5LP185 also lacks such public architecture, but the number of burials suggests the site was important to a significant portion of the Ridges Basin community. Locus 1 at 5LP185 had unusually high quantities of both bowls



**Figure 3.8.** Plot of percentages of red ware versus sample size for early Pueblo I sites in Ridges Basin. The dashed lines represent the upper and lower boundaries of a 90 percent confidence band for red ware proportions based on the combined Ridges Basin early Pueblo I assemblages.

and red ware, while Locus 2 had the highest proportion of red ware of any Ridges Basin site but ordinary abundances of bowls.<sup>5</sup>

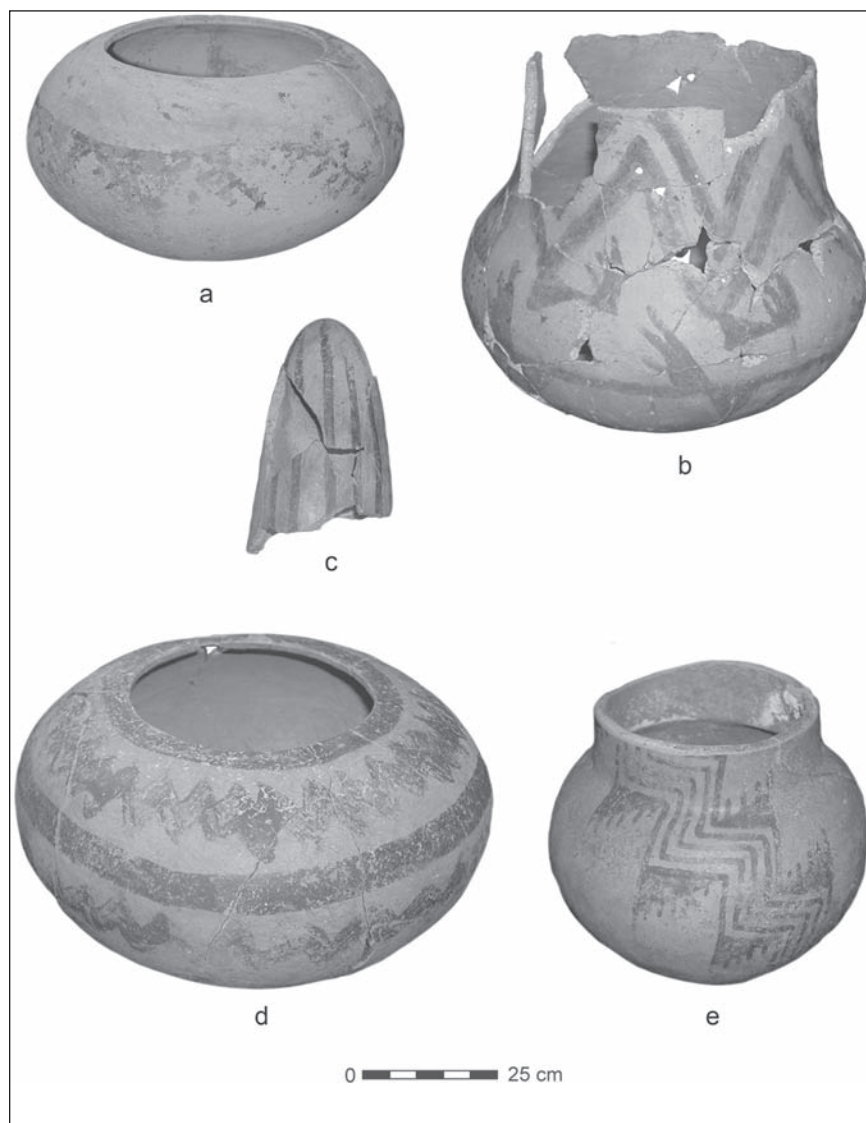
The other assemblages where red ware is unusually abundant are from small habitations. The amount of red ware acquired through exchange was much lower than at Dolores, composing less than 1 percent of the pottery assemblages from most habitations. Five households living in single-residence sites discarded red ware at about twice the average rate for Ridges Basin as a whole, which suggests they acquired and used more red ware vessels than other Ridges Basin residents. There may also have been a few other households residing at Sacred Ridge and 5LP185 that acquired unusual amounts of red ware. At the other extreme, a few Ridges Basin households apparently lacked access to red ware or may not have tried to acquire it.

Although any link between red ware exchange and communal feasting in Ridges Basin is tenuous, some red ware vessels were apparently valued as burial items. Decorated pottery of all kinds was more common in Ridges Basin burials than in domestic contexts. Locally produced white ware comprises 22 percent by weight of burial-associated pottery, but only about 13 percent of other contexts; red ware increases from less than 1 percent in other contexts to more than 3 percent by weight in burials.<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, red ware jars and seed jars were strongly preferred for burials, while red ware bowls are more common in other contexts (table 3.1). That sherds from red ware jars and seed jars are so rarely discarded in domestic contexts implies these vessel forms may have been obtained specifically for use in burials and saw little or no domestic use.

Five Ridges Basin burials contain a total of six whole or reconstructible red ware vessels (figure 3.9), only one of which is a bowl. The individuals with whom these vessels were buried include both males and females in a variety of age categories (table 3.2); although the sample size is small, the red ware vessels do not appear to be associated with any particular age- or gender-based identity. But all three of the sites from which these burials came have higher than expected amounts of red ware, even when the red ware from the

**Table 3.1. Red Ware Vessel Forms by Context from Early Pueblo I Sites in Ridges Basin**

	Burial Contexts		Other Contexts		All Contexts	
	% by count	% by weight	% by count	% by weight	% by count	% by weight
Bowls	29.2	17.2	68.0	62.1	56.7	39.8
Jars and Seed Jars	70.8	82.8	32.0	37.9	43.3	60.2
Sample Size	154	3311.9 g	372	3352.0 g	526	6663.9 g



**Figure 3.9.** San Juan Red Ware vessels from recent excavations in Ridges Basin. The two seed jars (a and d), one jar (b), and a probable squash effigy fragment (c) are from 5LP185. The other jar (e) is from Sacred Ridge (5LP245).

burials is excluded from the calculations. This suggests that individuals buried with red ware vessels were among those who had greater access to them through their personal exchange networks.

**Table 3.2. Ridges Basin Burials Containing Red Ware Vessels**

Site and Feature #	Red Ware Vessels	Number of Other Vessels	Sex	Estimated Age
5LP176 Feature 5 (double burial)	Bluff B/r Jar	3	Male	40–45
	Bluff B/r Seed Jar		Male	27–35
5LP184 Feature 6	Abajo R/o Bowl	2	Probably Female	12–18
5LP 185 Feature 41	Abajo R/o Seed Jar	7	Female	40–50
5LP 185 Feature 80	Bluff B/r Seed Jar	3	Male	18–24
5LP185 Feature 89	Bluff B/r Jar	1	Male	Adult

## CONCLUSION

The relationship between San Juan Red Ware exchange and identity is complex and changed over time. The archaeological record is too coarse-grained to allow much insight into precisely how particular individuals negotiated their identities, but it seems clear that the way San Juan Red Ware exchange articulated with the processes of identity construction changed within a relatively short time period. Previous studies show that by the late A.D. 800s San Juan Red Ware was important to communal feasts at McPhee Village, events that almost certainly created and reinforced group-level identities. A few generations earlier, however, data from both the Dolores and Durango areas suggest that no such link existed.

The great kiva at Grass Mesa Village is, by itself, good evidence that early Pueblo I people in the Dolores area participated in communal activities. At Sacred Ridge in Ridges Basin, the association of elevated frequencies of bowls with oversized pit structures suggests the possibility of feasting there. But red ware had no particular association with communal events in either area. It did, however, link people with disparate social identities across the northern San Juan region. Further, the variation in red ware abundance among households in both the DAP and Ridges Basin sites suggests people maintained individualized social networks extending beyond their residential community through which some people were able to obtain more red ware vessels than others. Ethnographic data suggest that these networks were probably largely kin based, and that the web of social relationships created and strengthened through them was an important part of individual social identities. How red

ware became a socially valued commodity important to communal ritual by the latter part of the ninth century remains unclear.

It does seem clear, however, that early Pueblo I communities in southwestern Colorado, and especially at Ridges Basin, were less integrated than the large late Pueblo I villages. The diverse architecture of early Pueblo I houses in Ridges Basin, the stockades surrounding at least some of them, and the violent end to the occupation of Sacred Ridge, which is described by Potter and Yoder in this volume, suggest that the Ridges Basin community may never have been well integrated and that the experiment with communal life there ultimately failed.

San Juan Red Ware exchange probably only played a small role in the failure of this community, but individualized trade networks like those that probably were important in early Pueblo red ware exchange tend to divide people's loyalties and thus contradict and weaken group-level identities. Giddens (1984:143) notes that in "tribal societies . . . the village community [is] overwhelmingly the most important locale within which encounters are constituted and reconstituted in time-space. In these societies relations of co-presence tend to dominate influences of a more remote kind." Red ware exchange, however, must have involved "relations of co-presence" with people from outside the local community, and the networks of relationships thus created or reproduced distinguished community members from each other.

In late Pueblo I the use of red ware in communal feasts promoted group identity and counterbalanced the centrifugal social effects of individuals' involvement in red ware exchange outside the community. Late Pueblo I red ware exchange thus likely had a net positive effect on community integration. There is no evidence for similar countervailing forces in early Pueblo I, however. Individualized trade networks may have contributed to regional integration, but the distinct social networks thus created among neighbors probably had a negative effect on integration within the residential community. This effect was then compounded by the use of red ware in burials, and possibly other contexts, to mark certain individuals as distinct from their neighbors.

## **POSTSCRIPT STRUCTURE, SITUATIONS, AND CIRCUMSTANCES**

In conclusion, I would like to return to some theoretical issues. Like the other authors in this volume, I assume that social theory influenced by the work of Bourdieu (1977, 1990) and Giddens (1979, 1984) is central to understanding the social production of communities and of the social identities of community members. Social theory emphasizes the recursive relationship between

structure and agency, and attempts to explain how the actions of human agents are influenced by the structural properties of their societies while the same actions reproduce and modify the structures.

As Cowgill (2000:51) says, the “concepts of structuration, duality of patterning, and of individuals whose actions are *in relation to* circumstances (but not mechanically determined by circumstances) and which in turn have an *effect on* circumstances (though usually not very large effects) seem to me the only way of thinking about present or past social phenomena that makes any sense” [emphasis in original]. By themselves, however, these concepts are too vague to get us very far, and a number of difficult conceptual issues remain unresolved.

One question is whether the concept of “structure” adequately conceptualizes the circumstances within which action occurs. Cowgill’s choice of the vague term “circumstances” encourages a broad conception of the various factors that constrain, enable, and channel the actions of social agents. These circumstances include (among other things): the built environment; portable artifacts; the natural environment; technological knowledge; the fact that people in a particular time and place may have similar (but not identical) ideas about symbolic meanings or what constitutes acceptable or laudable behavior, or similar dispositions; and differences or similarities in individual situations. “Structure” is vague in a different way: where “circumstances” simply has a broad meaning, “structure” comes with a cartload of theoretical baggage. Its vagueness derives from it having been used in diverse, sometimes relatively specific, but often incompatible ways. At times “structure” has been used to refer to the totality of the circumstances alluded to above, but more often it has referred to various subsets of those circumstances.

Giddens’s combination of illuminating insight and frustrating abstractness and contradiction has inspired a large literature critiquing and refining his concepts of structure and structuration (e.g., Archer 2003; Bryant and Jary 1991; Sewell 1992, 2005; Stones 2005; Thompson 1989), although archaeologists have rarely considered these concepts in detail. Space does not permit much detail here, either, but I would like to call attention to four aspects of Giddens’s discussions of structure that, taken together, I find problematic. First, Giddens (1984: 373) distinguishes between “allocative” resources, defined as “material resources . . . including the natural environment and physical artifacts,” and “authoritative” resources, “non-material resources . . . [that] result from the dominion of some actors over others.” Second, Giddens often refers to structure as “virtual” and states that it “exists only as memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability, and as instantiated in action” (Giddens 1984:377). Third, “structure is both the medium and the outcome of the practices which constitute social systems” (Giddens 1995:27).



Finally, Giddens (1979:66) states that “structures are necessarily (logically) properties of systems or collectivities.”

These statements, taken together, are not only partly contradictory but also may be interpreted as excluding some aspects of circumstances, broadly considered, from the definition of structure. Specifically, I have suggested above that both the social landscape and differences in individual kinship networks were likely important in influencing the practices that led San Juan Red Ware to be distributed far beyond its production area and to become important in identity formation in different ways at different times. But if Giddens is taken at face value, it is not clear that either of those is properly considered “structure,” though they surely were important parts of the circumstances that shaped social practices. Although I did not focus my attention on the natural environment, the few aspects of the early Pueblo I social landscape that I described were clearly strongly influenced by it, and the social landscape can be considered as a combination of the “natural environment and physical artifacts” that Giddens includes in his discussion of allocative resources, along with the socially constructed meanings people attached to various places and features.

It seems reasonable to consider the natural environment and physical artifacts as allocative resources, and thus part of “structure,” but that contradicts the idea that structures only exist “as memory traces . . . or as instantiated in action.” Sewell (1992, 2005) suggests resolving this contradiction by stipulating that rules, or schemas, as he prefers to call them, are virtual, while resources are “actual,” that is, they exist in particular times and places rather than as “memory traces.” Structure is thus better considered as *partly* virtual but including aspects of the built and natural environment that have actual physical existence.

The natural environment poses other problems for Giddens’s concept of structure. The role of the natural environment is undertheorized in social theory in general, probably because most social theorists study contemporary societies in which technology insulates most people from environmental constraints. For archaeologists who work and/or live in the western United States, however, it is impossible to ignore the way landscapes, societies, and individuals there were and are shaped by the general aridity and variability of the natural environment. These are among the most important factors influencing the size and locations of settlements, or influencing subsistence options, and they affect people’s perceptions of the landscape and themselves in a variety of ways (cf. Stegner 1998:100). The aridity of the environment is an important part of the circumstances within which ancient Southwesternists lived; it is, in Giddens’s terms, a *medium* of the practices that constituted their social systems. But “structure” is supposed to be not only the medium, but the *outcome* of social practices, and the scarcity of rainfall in the Southwest is not

the outcome of social practices, even though social practices may have led to the degradation (or improvement) of the environment in some places, and despite the fact that some Puebloan ceremonialism is social action intended to increase the amount of rainfall. Not all aspects of structure (or of circumstances) are equally the outcome of social practices; some aspects are immutable, or strongly resistant to change, while others are relatively changeable.

Finally, the differences in individual kin networks that I argue were important in shaping both San Juan Red Ware exchange and individual identities, along with other aspects of individual situations, do not fit easily into "structure." They could be considered as resources, but not without violating Giddens's stipulation that structures are "properties of systems or collectivities." On this point, I agree with Giddens; it seems sensible to reserve "structure" for circumstances that are (at least partially) shared, and to consider individual situations separately. I would thus consider both shared structure and individual situations to have a recursive relationship with agency; they are both media of social action, and, like structure, individual situations are also in part the outcome of social actions. But also like structure, individual situations, and the individual identities that are based in part on them, include some aspects that are stubbornly resistant to change or even immutable (e.g., biological sex). It is certainly true that identities are socially constructed and changeable, but I would argue there is an overemphasis on the fluidity of identities; what is most interesting about identity construction is the way people manipulate these change-resistant aspects of their individual situations.

Structuration theory provides profound insights into social processes, but some of its main concepts are badly undertheorized. Archaeologists who adopt these concepts need to go beyond invoking "agency" as a quasi-explanation and seriously consider the circumstances within which social action took place. Whether some particular aspect of these circumstances counts as "structure" or not is relatively unimportant (except to the extent that the use of the term "structure" becomes "a word to conjure with" [Sewell 2005:125], implying causal priority for whatever is so labeled). What matters is picking apart the circumstances of particular cases and trying to understand how schemas, resources, and individual situations influenced cultural actions and the different ways in which they in turn were reproduced, modified, or left unaffected by the same actions.

## NOTES

1. Wilshusen and Ortman labeled their proposed pottery production zones the Bluff, Piedra, and Rosa centers of pottery production. These correspond closely to

the zones I identify as red ware, mineral-paint white ware, and glaze-paint white ware production zones, although I have slightly modified the boundaries used by Wilshusen and Ortman to better reflect my impression of where these different technological styles predominated in early Pueblo I times.

2. Brew (1946:90) reports fourteen tree-ring dates from Site 13: Gila Pueblo provided eight dates, all of which came from Room 11A, while the Laboratory of Anthropology dated six additional specimens. After reexamining wood from the site that had been transferred from Gila Pueblo to the University of Arizona's Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, Bannister et al. (1969) concluded that the eight dates from Room 11A all came from the same tree and collapsed them into a single date of 778 +v, while providing a previously unreported date of 769v from Room 220A. The specimens that provided the six Laboratory of Anthropology dates, which range from 759–768 and include three dates from Room 100A as well as one date each from Pit Houses A, G, and F, were not reexamined. These were not reported using the Tree-Ring Laboratory conventions, but Brew indicates that either “0?” “Few?” or “Few” rings were missing, suggesting they probably all represent near-cutting dates.

3. In many cases, it is obvious that the glaze paints used in the Durango area combined a lead-fluxed glaze paint with an organic binder. On a number of sherds, only small remnants of the glaze paint remain, and the majority of the paint appears to be organic. This suggests that many of the organic-paint sherds that have no glaze paint represent similar cases where the glaze paint has simply not been preserved.

4. Spielmann (2004:221), working from Brew's illustrations, indicates a total of 13 bowls from these three rooms. However, some of the illustrated bowl designs that appear as complete vessels in Brew's illustrations are actually based on fragments rather than complete bowls.

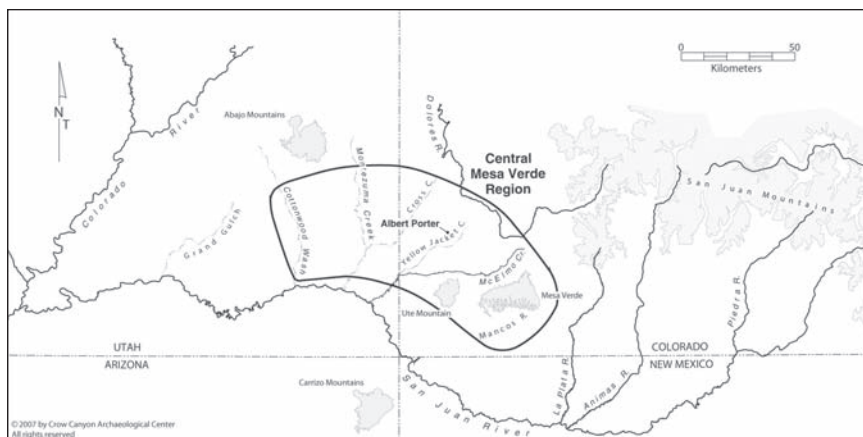
5. In Ridges Basin, unlike at Dolores, most bowls were white ware, so the proportions of bowls and of red ware are essentially uncorrelated ( $r^2 = .09$ ).

6. The switch to calculating percentages based on weights rather than counts is necessary for the burial proveniences because they include a number of complete vessels or large portions of vessels, as well as smaller, much more fragmented potsherds. Counting the complete vessels as one would understate their importance relative to the potsherds, although the percentages of both white ware and red ware still increase in the burial proveniences even if calculated using counts.

## Constructing Community and Transforming Identity at Albert Porter Pueblo

*Susan C. Ryan*

This chapter will focus on the dynamic relationship between structure and agency by using the Albert Porter great house, located in the central Mesa Verde region of the American Southwest (figure 4.1), as a case study. I will address three key issues in southwestern archaeology through structuration theory: (1) the social construction of identity; (2) relations of power; and (3) ideological constructions of memory. History, place, symbols, and memory, as represented by the architecture and the artifacts associated with the great house, were symbolically charged resources that individuals drew upon and incorporated into the social construction of their community.



**Figure 4.1.** The northern San Juan drainage and the central Mesa Verde area. Note the location of Albert Porter Pueblo in the center of the map. Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

Architecture is socially produced, resulting in a built landscape that reflects cultural schemas and ideologies through its design, construction, and intended use (Hegmon 1989). This is evident in the Albert Porter great house, which reinforced cultural identities spatially—by creating bounded settings for social interaction—and symbolically, by utilizing a construction style identified with Chaco Canyon. Social theory is needed to help us analyze the built environment, because it is one of the primary means through which social interaction is arranged (Giddens 1984; Hegmon 1989), and because the built environment is one means by which structured interaction is perpetuated in time and space (Rapoport 1994:465; Soja 1980).

The reproduction of social structure depends on the persistence or repetition of behavior through time. Architecture promotes the persistence and repetition of activities by fixing them in space and providing a context for these symbolically charged actions. In addition, architecture transmits and validates social rules or schemas (Sewell 1992), which in turn creates and perpetuates social identity.

Residents of Albert Porter Pueblo expressed their social power as they transformed their community. This transformation is evident in the architectural changes that characterize the Late Pueblo II period (A.D. 1060–1140), which I will refer to as the Chaco period, and the early Pueblo III period (A.D. 1140–1225), which I will refer to as the post-Chaco period in this chapter. Moreover, the built environment and the memories of that built environment invoke place, create cultural landscapes, represent meaningful symbols, and facilitate rituals, all of which are fundamental to the construction of social identity and the social construction of community. Buildings and settlements, as the location of activities, become an integral part of the symbolic, human landscape, and they are also containers for memories of important events that happened there.

The great house, for example, was the location of important community activities; it was a building that contained two centuries of community social memory. At Albert Porter Pueblo, the memory of those activities was used by individuals in the great-house community to assert and legitimize social power and demonstrate community success and longevity. It is those specific memories that structured the identity of the community and community members.

## **CHACO CANYON AND THE NORTHERN SAN JUAN CONNECTION**

Spectacular buildings, known as great houses, were constructed in Chaco Canyon in northwest New Mexico between A.D. 850 and 1140 (Windes and

Ford 1996). Collectively, these great houses in Chaco Canyon were the densest concentration of the largest buildings found anywhere in the ancestral Pueblo world. Lipe (2006) has argued that the basic architectural form of great houses is rooted in a preexisting cultural schema, which he terms the "San Juan pattern." Lipe notes that the San Juan pattern includes the following characteristics: (1) an architectural unit that consists of aboveground roomblocks, or pueblos, and subterranean pit structures, or kivas, in front of these roomblocks; (2) pit structures and kivas, which have both domestic and ritual functions; (3) a north-south orientation of the overall site layout, with roomblocks on the north, pit structures to the south of the roomblocks, and midden areas to the south of the pit structures; and (4) residential household kivas and community great kivas, which hold various degrees of symbolic significance.

Following Lipe, I view the San Juan pattern as a fundamental schema for Pueblo people, one that likely had cosmological significance. Further, I believe great houses resonated culturally for Pueblo people because the individuals who built the first great houses successfully transposed this schema from residential sites onto great houses, which served as public architecture.

Although rooted in the San Juan pattern, great houses also exhibit characteristics never before seen in the San Juan region (Lekson 1984; Wilshusen and Van Dyke 2006). These characteristics include: preplanned construction; visually imposing, multiple-storied buildings; and buildings with thick walls constructed in a core-and-veneer masonry style. Chacoan great houses were also, but not always, associated with features such as great kivas, earthen mounds or berms, and roads (Van Dyke 2003:181). Additional architectural characteristics that are associated with the Chacoan construction style are distinctive kivas; these are typically incorporated into the roomblock by enclosing them in a square room and are often aboveground rather than subterranean. In addition, these kivas typically have subfloor ventilation systems and roof support systems that consist of eight pilasters (Lekson 1984; Van Dyke 2003).

There is consensus that Chaco Canyon was the center of a much larger regional system, although there is debate about the nature and organization of the Chaco regional system. The primary evidence of the regional system is the presence of Chaco-influenced architecture and a network of roads found in an area over two hundred miles in diameter around Chaco Canyon. This area encompasses northwestern New Mexico, southeastern Utah, southwestern Colorado, and northeastern Arizona (Mahoney and Kantner 2000). The Chaco regional system was an intricate structure that was most likely based upon social power concentrated in the hands of the people who occupied the great houses in Chaco Canyon. Although the exact nature of this power is not well

understood, it most likely derived from control over material and ideological resources such as labor, farmland, water resources, material goods (including exotic goods), and ritual knowledge. Material goods, such as wood, pottery, and lithic material, were imported into Chaco Canyon. Exotic materials, such as turquoise, shell, copper bells, and macaws, were also imported into Chaco Canyon and then exported to other areas of the regional system, likely forming the basis of a political economy controlled by the residents of Chaco Canyon. It also seems likely that people from the larger regional system traveled to Chaco Canyon to take part in activities, including ceremonies, that occurred there.

Great house construction began in Chaco Canyon in the mid- to late A.D. 800s, (Wilshusen and Van Dyke 2006; Windes and Ford 1992, 1996), and it is at this time that great houses emerge as community centers within the canyon. Great houses outside of Chaco Canyon appeared first during the A.D. 900s, in the area to the south of the canyon (Kantner 1996; 1999). Soon after this, outliers were constructed to the west of Chaco Canyon. The number and size of great houses in Chaco Canyon grew until the canyon emerged as the primary center for the larger regional system by about A.D. 1020 (Lipe 2006). Around A.D. 1080, the Chaco regional system expanded to its farthest extent and, for the first time, spread to the area north of the San Juan River. In the late A.D. 1000s and early A.D. 1100s, connections in the north intensified when Aztec and Salmon Pueblos, the largest Chacoan outliers outside of Chaco Canyon, were constructed in the area near the confluence of the Animas, La Plata, and San Juan rivers, an area known today as the Totah region. Chaco Canyon remained the primary center of the ancestral Pueblo world until the early A.D. 1100s. Construction of Chaco Canyon great houses ended at about A.D. 1140; this coincides with the onset of a persistent and severe drought. The complex of great houses at Aztec became an equal center—and may have become the primary center—for the post-Chaco world (Lekson 1999).

Approximately 250 outliers have been recorded in the Chaco regional system to date (Sipapu—The Chaco World Great House Database March 21, 2006). These outliers are much smaller than Aztec, Salmon, and the great houses in Chaco Canyon, but they are large compared to the farmsteads and residential units that surround them in their associated communities. Albert Porter Pueblo is a good example of one of these small outlying Chacoan great houses.

### **THE ALBERT PORTER COMMUNITY CENTER AND THE WOODS CANYON COMMUNITY**

A basic characteristic that defines communities in the northern San Juan region is the spatial proximity of households (Adler 1990; Adler 1992; Eddy

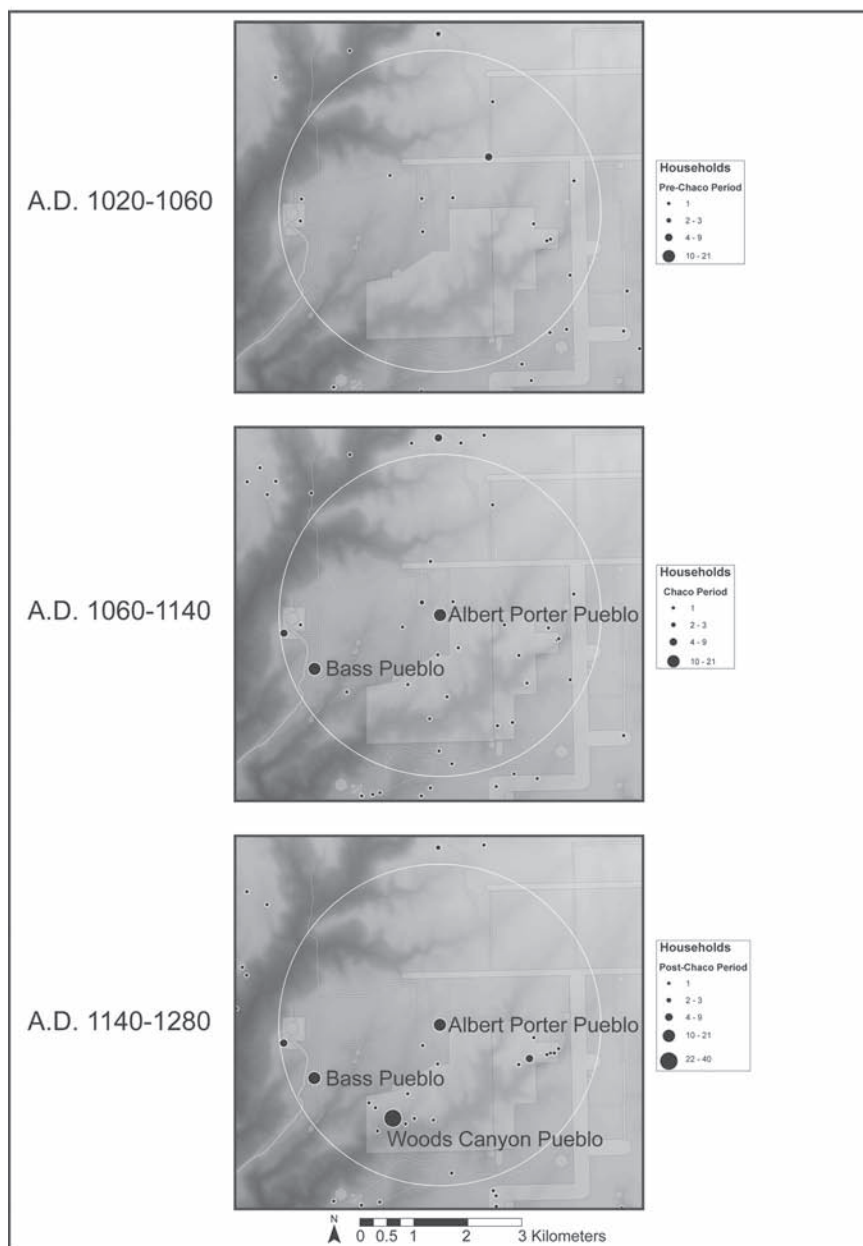
1977; Varien 1999a). Between A.D. 900 and 1300, these communities exhibited changes in population size, settlement pattern, and organization (Varien 1999a). Prior to A.D. 1060, communities throughout the region were typically small and composed of dispersed farmsteads occupied by one or a few households (Adler 1990; Fetterman and Honeycutt 1987; Mahoney 2000). After A.D. 1060, many communities increased in size and became more aggregated. The beginning of aggregated settlement coincides with the inception of Chacoan influence in the northern San Juan region, which dates between approximately A.D. 1060 and 1140 (Lipe and Varien 1999a). Lekson argues that a distinguishing characteristic of the Chacoan regional system is a settlement pattern he describes as a “big bump” surrounded by a series of “small bumps” (Lekson 1991:32–45). The big bumps are Chaco great houses, and the small bumps are residential farmsteads occupied by one or a few households.

Crow Canyon archaeologists developed a community-center succession model that describes how the form of community centers changed over time (Lipe and Ortman 2000; Varien 1999a). During the Chaco period, community centers in the northern San Juan region often included large isolated buildings, usually in mesa-top settings and sometimes accompanied by a great kiva. In the early post-Chaco period, community centers consisted of a cluster of buildings, still located in mesa-top settings and often with a larger structure in the center of the cluster. In the late post-Chaco period, community centers were large, aggregated villages; their location shifted to canyon settings.

In a study of settlement patterns in the central Mesa Verde region, Varien notes that during the Chaco period most unit pueblos were still constructed with wooden posts and adobe and were occupied on average for about twenty years (Varien 1999a; Varien and Ortman 2005). The occupation span of unit pueblos increased to about forty-five years during the subsequent post-Chaco period, when, for the first time, unit pueblos were constructed with sandstone masonry. Although typical farmsteads were occupied for these relatively short intervals, the larger community centers were occupied for longer periods, and the entire settlement cluster that comprised a community persisted for centuries (Varien 1999a, 2002). The longer occupation span of these community centers and the communities they were a part of made them especially important in the social and political landscape of the region.

Residential, face-to-face communities in the central Mesa Verde region have been shown to have a radius of approximately two kilometers (Adler and Varien 1991; Ortman and Varien 2007; Varien 1999a:153–55). The area around Albert Porter Pueblo does not have full-coverage survey, but some survey has been completed, and many sites have been recorded; these allow us to examine the population dynamics of the surrounding community. Figure 4.2 shows the sites within three kilometers of Porter during the Middle Pueblo





**Figure 4.2.** Distribution of population in recorded sites near Albert Porter Pueblo. The circle represents a 3 km radius centered on Albert Porter Pueblo. Gray polygons indicate surveyed areas. Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

II period (A.D. 1020–1060), the Late Pueblo II period (A.D. 1060–1140), and the Pueblo III period (A.D. 1140–1280). This settlement cluster is referred to as the Woods Canyon community, which gets its name from Woods Canyon, a large canyon located about 1.4 km south of Albert Porter Pueblo.

As can be seen in figure 4.2, there was settlement during the pre-Chaco period, but sites were few in number and uniformly small in size. Population increased during the Chaco period, and two large community centers formed, Albert Porter Pueblo and Bass Pueblo, which is located almost three kilometers west of Porter. Great houses were constructed at both centers during the Chaco period, and future research will examine the relationship between these two centers (testing is needed at Bass Pueblo to refine our understanding of this site). Population continued to increase during the post-Chaco period, but people consolidated into fewer sites. Albert Porter and Bass pueblos continued to be large centers during this period, but most people moved from the mesa tops to the canyon and formed the large village of Woods Canyon Pueblo (Churchill 2002). The shift from mesa-top to canyon settings occurred throughout the central Mesa Verde region during the post-Chaco period (Lipe and Varien 1999a:303–12). An important exception to this general trend is that some of the Chaco-era great houses and community centers, located on mesa tops, remained occupied, which is exemplified by Albert Porter Pueblo.

## THE ALBERT PORTER SITE

The following section draws on data collected during a four-year excavation project at Albert Porter Pueblo (Ryan 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005). The types of pottery found at Albert Porter Pueblo suggest that people were living at this site at least as early as the Pueblo I period (A.D. 725–900) and perhaps even during Basketmaker III times (A.D. 600–725). Data collected during excavation indicate that the most intensive and continuous occupation at Porter dates from A.D. 1060–1280. It is at this time that Porter served as a center for the surrounding community. Architectural blocks visible on the surface include seven aboveground roomblocks and twenty-two associated pit structures or kivas; middens are associated with each architectural block. An additional thirty-three pit structures were located during an electrical resistance survey, and these structures also have associated middens (figure 4.3).

Albert Porter Pueblo is interpreted as a community center based on (1) the presence of the great house, (2) the dense concentration of smaller architectural units surrounding it, and (3) the long occupation span of this site compared to the farmsteads in the surrounding community. Survey indicates that Albert Porter Pueblo served as a center for a larger community during

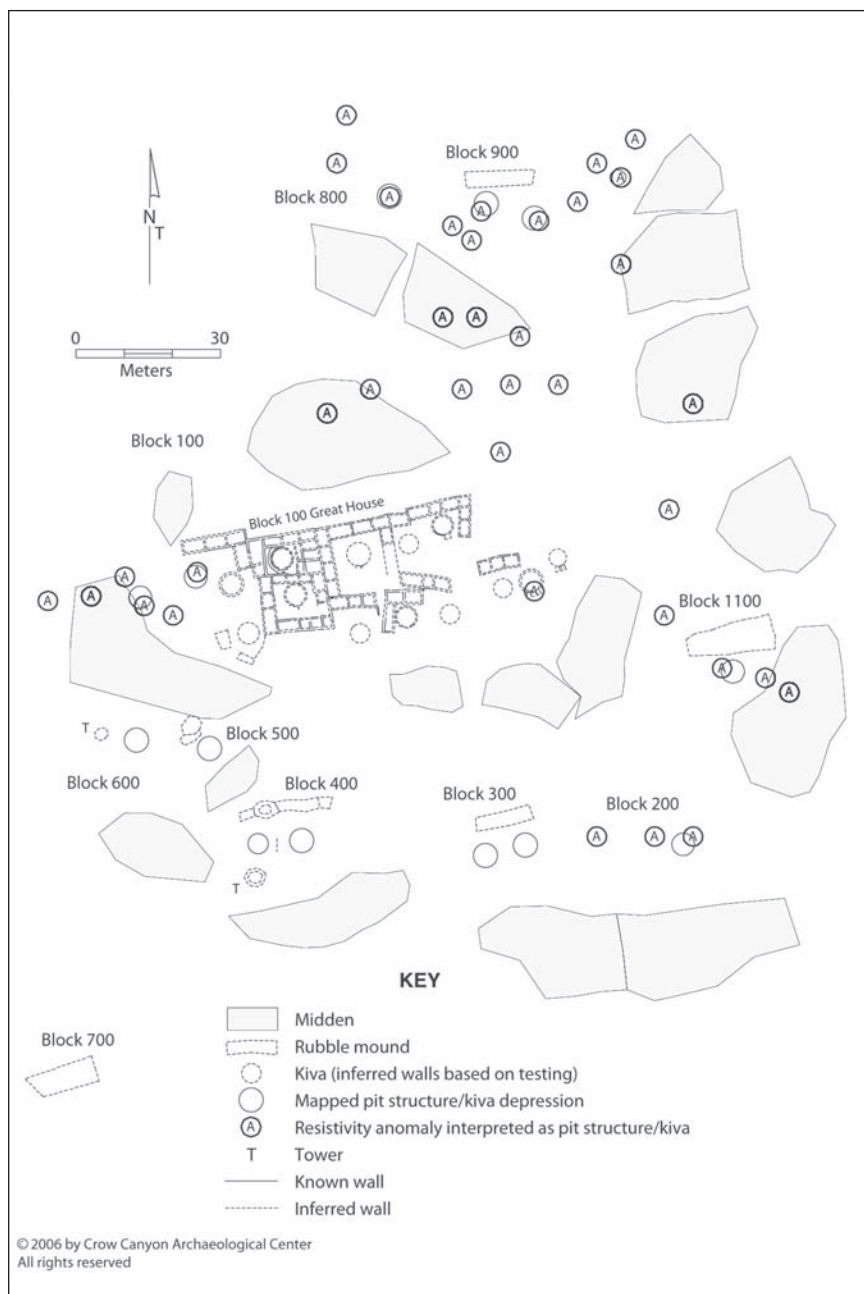


Figure 4.3. Map showing the architectural blocks at Albert Porter Pueblo. Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

the Chaco and the post-Chaco periods. Although the Chaco period begins at A.D. 1060, Chacoan-influenced architecture in the northern San Juan region was not constructed until about A.D. 1080, and construction of these buildings continued into the early A.D. 1100s in the central Mesa Verde region.

At about A.D. 1060, the population at Albert Porter dramatically increased, and approximately 18 households, or about 90–126 individuals, lived at the site between A.D. 1060 and 1100. The first group of people to settle at the site during this period of population expansion was a small group, who I will refer to as the founder households in this chapter. This group imagined and realized plans for the great-house construction. The great house was constructed at about A.D. 1100, within two generations of the population growth that began sometime shortly after A.D. 1060.

The great house, provenienced as Architectural Block 100, is located in the center of the pueblo (figure 4.3). The great house is distinctive in terms of its size, layout, and architectural details. Although it is much smaller than the well known great houses in Chaco Canyon, the Albert Porter great house shares many characteristics with these Chacoan structures.

People who constructed the great house during the height of Chacoan influence used this building as a means of expressing their concerns with a social identity. They incorporated Chacoan characteristics into the building, creating a link to a Chacoan social identity. They also incorporated some existing Mesa Verde architectural characteristics into the great house, indicating that the occupants also maintained a local cultural identity. The following section will highlight these characteristics.

## THE ALBERT PORTER GREAT HOUSE

It is important to note the great house was built on a site that had been used discontinuously for centuries prior to the Chaco period, and the area directly under the great house was used immediately prior to its construction. At least four distinct occupational surfaces were evident in sediments below the foundation that supported the south wall of the great house. The area beneath the great house was the location of earlier residences, as evidenced by an earthen-walled pit structure, a mostly earthen-walled kiva, and several other features that were found directly below the great-house foundation. Stratigraphic evidence and pottery dating suggest that the structures and features beneath the great house were in use when the decision was made to construct the great house, and its construction immediately postdates the abandonment of these structures. Given the sequential occupation of these structures, it seems likely that the great-house construction was planned and implemented by the

members of the founder household or households who already occupied this portion of the site.

## THE CHACO-ERA GREAT HOUSE

The original construction of the great house consisted of one kiva and approximately fourteen rooms. The great house was built on a high, prominent location on the landscape. This location, combined with the two-story construction, would have made the great house a major visual focal point for residents in the surrounding community (see Llobera 2007 for a discussion of visual landscapes). In addition, the great-house construction appears to have begun with the creation of a platform of intentionally deposited cultural fill. The foundations of the great-house rooms were constructed directly on this platform. The platform—consisting of secondary refuse and natural sediment—is uniformly 50 cm thick and further elevated the great house. Pottery recovered from the platform indicates that the great house was constructed in the early A.D. 1100s, the period when the Chacoan regional system reached its greatest extent. Chaco Canyon had been a regional center for over two hundred years by the time the Porter great house was constructed, and Porter appears to be roughly contemporaneous with the construction of Aztec West, the largest great house constructed outside of Chaco Canyon. The founder households who built the great house at Albert Porter drew upon a lengthy and rich history when they constructed this building. The founder households appropriated the symbolic history of Chaco Canyon by constructing the great house with a Chacoan-influenced architectural style. A clear example of Chacoan-influenced architecture is found in Structure 112.

Structure 112 (figures 4.4 and 4.5) is an aboveground kiva blocked in by a square enclosing room. It is circular and contains eight pilasters, two benches, and a subfloor ventilation system. It is also larger than most residential kivas at Albert Porter. These characteristics were not typical of kivas in the central Mesa Verde region during the immediate pre-Chaco period, and they are a clear reference to Chacoan architecture.

Another example of Chacoan influence is in Structure 143 (figure 4.4), a room located directly east of Structure 112's enclosing wall. Structure 143 contained viga sockets and was at least two stories. Multiple-storied architecture was also common in Chaco Canyon but absent in the central Mesa Verde region in the immediate pre-Chaco period.

Finally, the exterior wall on the north side of the great house revealed a masonry style that resembles the coursed-patterned masonry of Chaco Canyon; this masonry style had no antecedents in the immediate pre-Chaco period in the

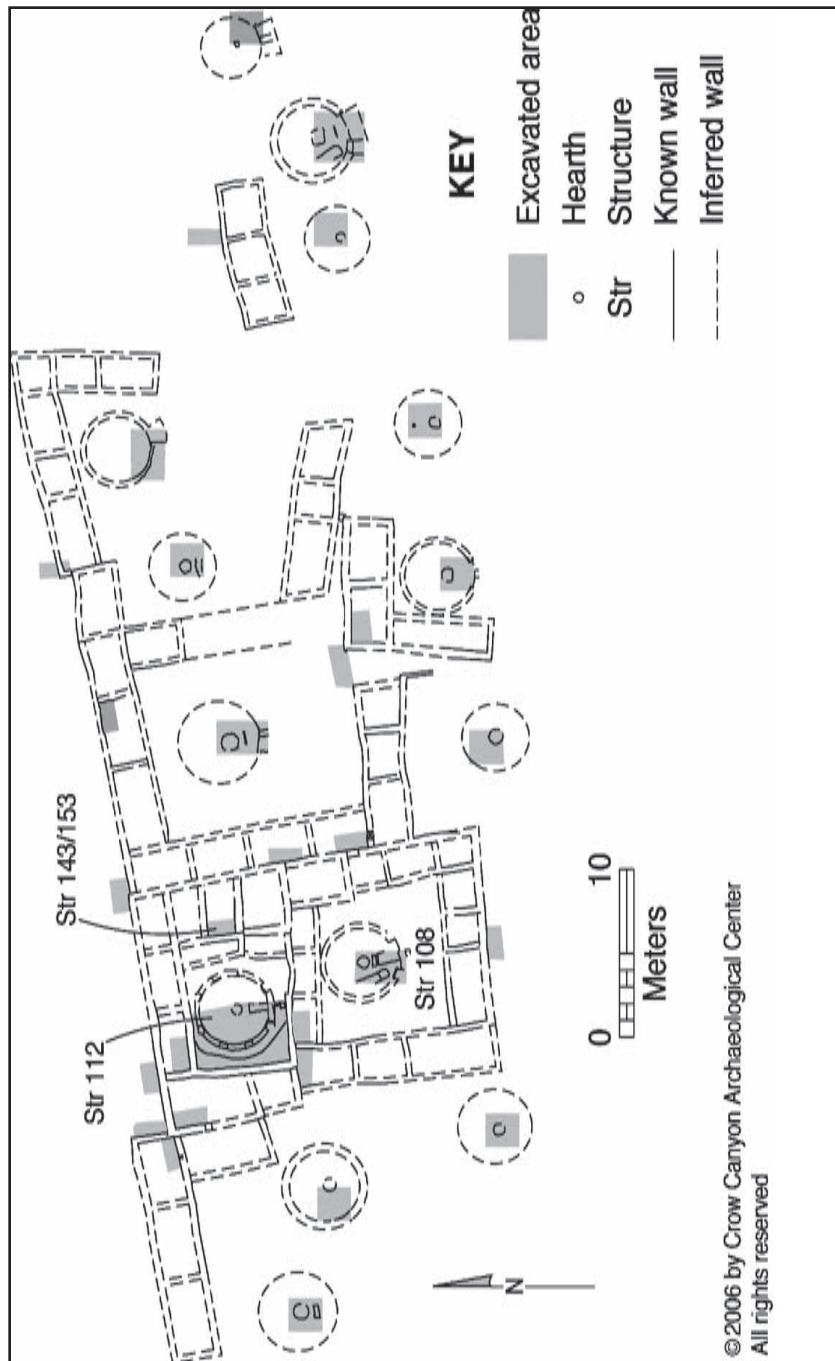


Figure 4.4. Map showing the great house at Albert Porter Pueblo. Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.





**Figure 4.5.** Kiva, structure 112, at Albert Porter Pueblo. Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

central Mesa Verde region. The lower courses of the wall consist of relatively large, blocky sandstone set in mortar with no chinking. The upper courses consist of thinner, elongated, tabular pieces of sandstone set in mortar with abundant chinking. The creation of patterned masonry is similar to masonry

construction in the great houses at Chaco Canyon. Although the wall does not exhibit all the characteristics of a classic Chacoan core-and-veneer masonry style, it does indicate an influence from outside of the region. In addition, this wall rests on a platform, which may be part of the preplanned layout of the great house. This platform is unique to the great house and was not constructed below earlier buildings or other buildings within in the community.

The first addition to the great house also was constructed around A.D. 1140. A kiva, Structure 108 (figure 4.4), and several rooms were added to the south of the aboveground, blocked-in kiva. Structure 108 was constructed mostly in the local Mesa Verde architectural style, with the exception of a subfloor ventilation system, a feature not common to the Mesa Verde region before the Chaco period. The structure also had a subfloor vault, which indicates it was used for important ritual activity (Wilshusen 1989).

## THE POST-CHACO-ERA GREAT HOUSE

By A.D. 1140, Chaco-style great houses were no longer built in the central Mesa Verde region. The end of the Chaco period is associated with a persistent and severe drought between about A.D. 1130 and 1180 (Dean and Van West 2002:87). However, there are tree-ring dates that document construction or remodeling at Albert Porter Pueblo during this drought, and pottery and stratigraphy clearly indicate that the site remained occupied during this interval.

During the Chaco period, space around the great house was restricted, and no other buildings were constructed in close proximity to the great house. But starting in the middle to late A.D. 1100s and continuing until the 1250s, at least nine roomblocks were constructed adjacent to, or near, the original great house. By the mid-A.D. 1200s approximately eleven kivas and fifty-five rooms had been constructed in the expanded, post-Chaco great house.

The original kiva, Structure 112, and most of the original rooms around this kiva, continued to be used in the post-Chaco period. Structure 112 exhibited evidence for an extremely long use-life, including two prepared floor surfaces, a remodeled hearth, and approximately twelve distinct layers of plaster on the bench face and pilasters, some of which were painted with designs. Unlike most kivas built in Chaco-era great houses in the central Mesa Verde region, and despite the remodeling noted above, Structure 112 did not undergo major modifications during the post-Chaco period. In fact, it appears that for almost 150 years there was a great deal of effort to preserve and conserve the original form of this structure. Other kivas constructed during the Chaco period, located away from the periphery of the great house, were not similarly con-



served. These structures fell out of use and were often filled with secondary refuse by residents living at the site during the post-Chaco period.

Especially interesting are the units that were abutted to the great house during the post-Chaco period. These include the eleven kivas and fifty-five rooms mentioned above. Their construction signals a change in social scale, social in organization, and social identity in the post-Chaco period. During the Chaco period, the founder group consisted of one or two households who built or organized the construction of the great house in a Chacoan architectural style. In contrast, during the post-Chaco period, individuals using the great house included a larger group, which grew to include eleven households, one that I will refer to as the “descendant household group.” These individuals exercised a strategy of corporate power (Blanton et al. 1996; Feinman et al. 2000) by conserving and using the original great house architecture as they modified this building by adding their residences onto the original core. The descendant household group constructed new buildings in the local Mesa Verde tradition while preserving the original core, with its Chacoan architectural style.

## THE SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF COMMUNITY AND IDENTITY

A sense of place reconstructs a history of social interaction with the landscape that is chronologically deep and filled with memories of experience (Basso 1996; Johnson 2007; Thomas 1991; Waterson 2000). Those specific memories shape the identity of individuals and develop the collective, historical consciousness of communities. Van Dyke (2003:185–86) argues that cosmological beliefs and ritual knowledge were expressed through architecture and landscape features as ritual was formalized by leaders during the period of Chacoan influence. Here I show how memory, landscape, and the built environment shaped identity and produced community at Albert Porter Pueblo in several distinct ways.

The great house was constructed directly on top of the remains of residential architecture from earlier occupations. This particular location was sought out and utilized for centuries for several reasons: it was a prominent location on the local landscape, it was located near the sustainable resources of land and water, and it had ties to past peoples. Like many great houses located in the central Mesa Verde region, Albert Porter had earlier occupational deposits incorporated into a platform that enhanced the prominent location of the building. These deposits connected the past to the present in an effort to maintain cultural identity and emphasize community success and longevity.

The buildings at Albert Porter Pueblo were also a part of how identity was formed and the community was socially produced. As stated earlier, architecture transmits and validates social rules or schemas (Sewell 1992) and, in so do-

ing, creates and perpetuates social identity. When the founder households built the great house, the people who lived at Albert Porter—most likely the households that had occupied the pit structures directly beneath the great house—successfully transposed a schema associated with domestic architecture and produced a new, public building. Even though the Porter great house may have functioned as a residential building, its builders created a structure that looked unlike any other residence, a building that displayed prominence, grandeur, and symbolism that was unmatched within the community. It is also clear from features in the great house that it was also used for ritual activity not present in other residences. In this sense, it was public architecture.

The residents of the great house drew on and intertwined the deep history of Pueblo people, which included events related to Chaco Canyon, memory of more recent events, and the landscape and built environment where they lived. Lipe's (2006) San Juan pattern was a fundamental schema for Pueblo people that had been applied to domestic buildings for four centuries. When the Albert Porter great house was constructed, it was also tied to a more recent and undoubtedly well-known past: the development of Chaco Canyon as a regional center during the previous two centuries. It was the distinctive history and symbolism of the Chacoan cultural system that people at Albert Porter drew upon when they constructed the great house. The Porter great house likely resonated with those who lived in the community because it drew on a deep and significant Puebloan schema (the San Juan pattern), but it also drew new power from the incorporated Chacoan symbolism.

The Chaco regional system, centered on Chaco Canyon, ended one or two generations after the Porter great house was constructed. In contrast, the community structure at Porter remained occupied for approximately five generations after the Chaco regional system had declined. Social identity is evidenced in the construction style of the great house and in the subsequent additions of residential structures next to, or near, the great house during the post-Chaco period.

During the post-Chaco period, the use of space around the great house changed dramatically. The building was deliberately constructed as an isolated structure during the Chaco period. But in the post-Chaco period, these restrictions were lifted, and at least eleven households were added to the great house. The original great house was likely associated with a small founder group, perhaps the one or two households that lived in that location during the pre-Chaco period. In the post-Chaco period, the great house was appropriated by a larger descendant household group with shared power. There are approximately eleven kivas in this expansion, indicating that the descendant household group consisted of at least fifty-five individuals. In both the Chaco and post-Chaco periods, the founder and descendant groups that built, used,

and expanded the great house used the style and location of their buildings to negotiate their positions within the larger community.

A change in social scale of leadership is evident during the post-Chaco period. The number of individuals with social power increased from the Chaco period, with a small founder household or households—residing in the original great-house core—to a larger descendant household group with shared power. Despite these changes, the Chaco-era kiva and its surrounding rooms continued to shape the activities of subsequent generations. By maintaining the core of the original great house, the descendant household group that inhabited the great house during the post-Chaco period preserved the memory of past peoples, Chaco-era activities, and, to a certain extent, the Chacoan worldview.

The descendant household group kept the memory of Chaco alive in the community by conserving the original great-house architecture after the collapse of the Chaco regional system. By the mid-A.D. 1200s, the Porter great house had an extensive history of its own, and the expanded and modified post-Chaco great house became a building that carried its own symbolic weight in the community. The individuals who constructed residences next to the great house were no doubt drawing on, and identifying with, the symbolism of a long-lived and highly successful community center and in this way were expressing power to meet their own interests. Albert Porter remained an important, and to some degree anomalous, site in the Woods Canyon community, even as the main population center shifted to Woods Canyon Pueblo in the mid- to late A.D. 1200s.

A similar preservation of memory through architecture can also be seen in the original core of Pueblo Bonito, which was constructed in the late A.D. 800s. The original set of rooms was preserved for centuries, even though extensive construction and remodeling occurred around these rooms during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. During the late A.D. 1000s, these original rooms played an important part in the history of Pueblo Bonito: the most elaborate burials found at the site were interred there (Akins 2003).

The changes that characterize communities and the larger social landscape during the Chaco to post-Chaco periods can be observed not only in architecture but also in artifacts. Nonlocal artifacts can be used to measure how connected communities are across the landscape. During the Chaco period, there was a significant amount of interregional exchange that connected the communities throughout the Chacoan regional system—including Albert Porter. But during the post-Chaco period, there was virtually no interregional exchange. Instead, this was replaced by an intense network of intraregional exchange (Glowacki 2006). During the Chaco period, sites like Albert Porter connected their residents to Chaco Canyon and the larger regional system.

This connection was likely coordinated in part through ritual activities sponsored by those who occupied the great house. These ceremonial events likely connected individuals from the Woods Canyon community with individuals from more distant communities, providing a context for the exchange of material goods from outside the region. When this regional system ended, so did the long-distance exchange of these nonlocal items.

## CONCLUSION

The construction and long-term use of the Albert Porter great house provides an important case study for examining the Chaco to post-Chaco transition in the northern San Juan region. The great house was probably constructed by one or two households; it was a large, visually prominent building that no doubt symbolized social power and status for both the individuals who built it and the entire community. This was materialized by the great house itself and reiterated by the activities that occurred in and around the great house. It appears that construction within the space surrounding the Albert Porter great house was intentionally restricted by the founder group; as a result, no other structures were built there during the early twelfth century. The great house, along with the ritual, political, and economic activities that occurred there, was distinct within the larger community. It seems that a small number of individuals or families were exerting control over the political resources that the great house provided, and this likely led to their distinct social status within the larger community. In contrast, there was a change in the scale of social power during the post-Chaco period. The function of the Porter great house changed, but it did not fall out of use, and several households expressed shared power by constructing residential buildings next to the great house.

Approximately ten generations had successfully lived in Chaco Canyon by the time the Porter great house was constructed. It was the extensive history and symbolism of the Chacoan cultural tradition that the founder households at Albert Porter used as resources when they constructed their great house. This appropriation of history and symbolism is a clear example of structuration.

The founder group who built the great house integrated the deep structure of the San Juan pattern with the history of the development of the Chacoan regional system. Later in the occupation of the site, members of the descendant household group preserved the memory of the founding decades of the community by conserving the original great-house core at Albert Porter Pueblo, similar to the way that the original rooms at Pueblo Bonito were preserved. The portions of these buildings were not only preserved by residents for multiple generations, but they were actively incorporated into community

life with each new generation.

The social landscape of the surrounding community had changed dramatically from the Chaco to the post-Chaco periods. Based on the material record, it seems likely that social power, which was concentrated during the Chaco period, became less concentrated during the post-Chaco period; social power appears to have shifted from being held by a relatively small group to being held by a larger, corporate group. What events led to corporate social power during the post-Chaco period? This may be an indication that a relatively hierarchical structure exerted by the founding households did not last for long, perhaps no more than two generations, and this proved untenable in the post-Chaco period. Indeed, the hierarchical nature of Chacoan social organization may have even led to its collapse and to the reorganization based on corporate social power in the post-Chaco period. Understanding the shift in the social scale of social power from the Chaco to post-Chaco periods remains as a topic for further study during the ongoing analysis of material from Albert Porter Pueblo.

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## AGENCY AND THE INDIVIDUAL



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## Agency and Gender in Prehispanic Puebloan Communities

*Elizabeth M. Perry*

The intent of this chapter is to contribute a gendered<sup>1</sup> perspective to the concepts of community, structure, and agency examined in this volume. I will describe, in the spirit of Giddens (1984), some of the fundamental ways in which possibilities for action were structured in one prehispanic Pueblo community and investigate the material effects of structure and agency on the physical body.

This chapter is concerned with sexual differences in the possibilities for types of action within the context of the community. Socially constructed divisions of labor, for instance, are an element of the “structure” that shapes possibilities for action. The range of “goals” that individuals may pursue is different for men and women. In their introduction, Varien and Potter define “agency” as “the choices made by people as they take action, often as they attempt to realize specific goals” (Varien and Potter, this volume). Describing individuals as “agents” (as opposed to “subjects”) who engage in strategic behavior implies that in some measure agency produces social change. If such action can be identified in archaeological contexts, how is it evaluated?

*Whose* agency produces social change is a question of power. “Power” is an abstract concept, an intangible term that captures a quality of the more tangible interactions that find expression as social structures, institutions, and culturally meaningful roles. I believe that techniques of power can be exposed by the investigation of agency in the organization of gendered labor activities. Foucault (1977:170) finds power in “the progressive objectification and ever more subtle partitioning of individual behavior.” The degree to which labor is partitioned by sex in a community—and the character of that partitioning—speaks to the value of the concept of agency for evaluating relations of power and inequality.



In order to demonstrate a material basis for agency, patterns of labor are documented in this chapter through the analysis of human skeletal remains. This analysis shows that the flexibility or rigidity of sex roles shaped the possibilities for “strategic action” by women and men in their community. Understanding the conditions under which sexual division of labor may have been rigid or flexible, based on skeletal evidence, contributes to understanding the role of gender in structures of power. In order to contextualize gendered possibilities for agency in such communities, the following section discusses different interpretations of social power.

### POWER IN THE PREHISPANIC SOUTHWEST

Archaeologists have characterized the operation of social power in late prehispanic (circa A.D. 1275–1540) communities of the Greater Southwest in a variety of ways. Some have characterized social complexity and power relationships during this period as largely egalitarian (Graves et al. 1982; Reid 1989; Reid and Whittlesey 1990). Polar opposite arguments that prehistoric social organization was hierarchical and included the existence of managerial elites have countered these interpretations (Upham 1982, 1987; Upham et al. 1989; Upham and Plog 1986). The ranked versus egalitarian debate permeates the scholarly consciousness of many Southwestern archaeologists (McGuire and Saitta 1996). Recent research, however, has largely moved beyond oppositional debates and recognized the complex nature of power, leadership, labor, and ritual in the region, particularly with respect to the late prehispanic Southwest (Adams 1991, 1996; Crown 2000a and b; Feinman 2000; Graves and Spielmann 2000; Kintigh 1994, 2000; Kohler et al. 2000; LeBlanc 1998; McGuire and Saitta 1996; Mills 2000; Potter 1997; Potter and Perry 2000; Saitta and McGuire 1998; Spielmann 1998; Van Keuren 2000). I draw on these studies and suggest that the appropriation and distribution of labor in ancestral Pueblo communities was largely communal (McGuire and Saitta 1996), and I emphasize that power was often based on securing access to *nonmaterial* resources, such as rituals (Potter and Perry 2000). As a result, I employ a concept of power that is not heavily tied to economic exploitation but is instead focused on social reproduction.

The material and social effects of power are evident in the structures we describe as community organization, hierarchy, complexity, inequality, labor, ritual, ideology, and leadership. All of these may be seen as an interrelated network. Consequently, they are best understood contextually. Social power has been described as the ability to structure the possible field of action of others (Giddens 1984:283), and mechanisms of power are best evaluated in

terms of a “field of application” (Foucault 1980:97). This chapter integrates such an understanding, and this view of power is seen as particularly relevant to the non-state societies of the Southwest.

Crucial to the analysis of power in the village communities is the abandonment of traditional notions of unidirectional domination and repression. Trying to isolate the motives, reasoning, and intentional strategies of certain “dominating” individuals or groups of individuals results in a theoretically shallow and Western-centric view of power. In contrast, I believe it is more productive to visualize social power in communal societies as “ordinary” or “everyday” domination and to view power as processes that operate continuously to create and reproduce certain social structures. This alternative view attempts “to discover how it is that subjects are gradually, progressively, really, and materially constituted through a multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, materials, desires, (and) thoughts” (Foucault 1976:97). In this model, purely repressive power is not able to occupy the whole field of relations. Instead, power is dispersed throughout a social formation, and its techniques are not homogenous or unified.

With this view of power in mind, subject formation in Pueblo village communities is approached through the examination of objectification. Two modes of objectification are relevant to this analysis: dividing practices and subjectification. Dividing practices are operationalized in a community through social processes of inclusion and exclusion. Such practices involve institutional observation and surveillance that constrain the field of action of individuals in spatial and social arenas (Foucault 1977). Subjectification refers to the way an individual turns herself into a subject and is a process of self-formation in which the subject is active (Rabinow 1984:11). This can potentially involve an entire range of behaviors impacting one’s own body, thoughts, and conduct, where self-understanding is negotiated in reference to power and authority. The framework outlined above is particularly useful with respect to the description and interpretation of archaeological societies due to its inherent focus on temporality and materiality. This concept of power suggests that the restriction of possibilities for human action leaves material signatures, and these signatures reveal the nature of power.

Reformulating the question of power in this way necessitates a reevaluation of the nature of exploitation. If power is understood as the restriction of the possibilities for human action, formalized roles, such as gendered divisions of labor, or differentiation in social or ritual responsibilities within a larger system of ritual organization, are considered restrictions of fields of action. In short, this is an attempt to locate relations of power within the type of social differentiation commonly conceived of as *horizontal*, rather than hierarchical.<sup>2</sup> In a hierarchical view of power, exploitation would (by most definitions)

not occur where role differentiation did not result in the unequal distribution of labor or resources. Using the notion of power I outline, where community members are restricted to more or less static social roles, exploitation becomes the degree of maneuverability between social roles, or the flexibility of the system with respect to those roles. How rigidly are social categories maintained? What are the historically and culturally specific possibilities for abandoning a social role, adopting a different one, or creating a new one?

Gender is among the most basic of social roles. In some situations, the *representation* of differentiated roles might be more salient than the actual roles themselves; the symbolic representation of gender divisions may not match what people actually do in practice. In this scenario, fields of action are not significantly restricted, and exploitation in this sense would not be occurring. At the other extreme, social roles are rigidly maintained, and moving in and out of them is discouraged or impossible. An inability to depart from a social role within the context of the community would potentially constitute exploitation, particularly if that restriction of agency—the ability to strategically pursue a goal that creatively challenges existing structures—leads to the material deprivation of resources necessary for survival or quality of life.

Through the analysis of human remains, this chapter investigates the mechanisms through which gender was materially constituted in the prehispanic Southwest. The association of a particular gender with types of labor, material culture, and behavior is not a random or somehow “natural” process, but is produced through historical mechanisms that restrict behavioral possibilities for individuals. As such, gender is an important element of power, and power is implicated in the process of gendering in prehistory. Gender is a performance (Butler 1990, 1993); the guidelines and props for this continual performance are constructed over time, until they “go without saying” and are experienced as natural, immutable phenomena (Bourdieu 1990). A fundamental goal of gendered archaeology in the field at large is to discover “how and why certain kinds of action came to be *representative* of certain kinds of gender” (Joyce 2001).

In a broad sense, gender performance is a social process that operates continuously to construct difference (Butler 1990:33). This view is, in some sense, descended from antiessentialism, feminism, and practice theory (Morris 1995) in its critical examination of the relation between sex and gender and the importance of embodiment. This chapter reconstructs gendered performances by documenting the impact of habitual activity on the sexed skeleton. These embodied performative processes construct gender and other identities through repetition. The structure of power, gender categories, and labor organization are shown to be inextricably linked, as they are all dependent upon the habitual repetition of certain performances that operate to bolster social reproduction.

## SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR IN THE ANCESTRAL PUEBLO SOUTHWEST

Sexual division of labor in Pueblo villages of the Greater Southwest is imbricated with household, community, and ceremonial aspects of social life, particularly during the late prehispanic period. Southwestern archaeologists have rigorously investigated the relationship between sex roles and community organization in recent years (Crown 2000a and b; Crown and Fish 1996; Crown and Wills 1995; Fish 2000; Hegmon, Ortman, and Mobley-Tanaka 2000; Martin 2000; Mills 1995, 2000; Mills and Crown 1995; Mobley-Tanaka 1997; Neitzel 2000; Ortman 1998; Perry and Joyce 2005; Rautman 1997; Spielmann 2000; Szuter 2000). In general, these studies show that women and men's labor became increasingly spatially and conceptually divided and restricted through time.

The aggregation of populations into large settlements during the late prehispanic period had significant implications for the allocation of labor along gender lines and also increased the importance of communal or community-based labor. The increased attention to plaza-oriented architecture is related to the spatial relocation of labor from the household to public spaces (Hegmon, Ortman, and Mobley-Tanaka 2000; Ortman 1998; Potter and Perry 2000). Although community labor still ultimately supported the household, activities were performed in a more communal manner, thus subsuming, on conceptual and practical levels, the household with the community. This describes a far-reaching phenomenon of community integration at this time; women produced food to support their household and provided food for communal ritual or redistributive feasting.

Gendered labor was probably *more* differentiated as a result of aggregation and the processes of community integration. For example, communal hunting would have taken men's labor away from the community for increasing distances and periods of time (Kaldahl 1997; Mills 2000; Potter 1997, Szuter 2000), food preparation would have kept women at the grinding stone for longer durations (Hegmon 2000; Spielman 1995), weaving at looms inside kivas partitioned men's labor (Webster 1997, 2000), and intensification of pottery production impacted time allocation in women's labor (Crown 2000b; Mills 2000). Intensified agricultural production also significantly impacted men and women's labor, although gender attribution to specific farming tasks is difficult in the prehispanic Southwest (Fish 2000). Four broad categories of labor in particular—hunting, weaving, food preparation, and pottery manufacture—are activities that southwestern archaeologists often suggest were differentiated by gender in the Pueblo III and late prehispanic periods. Archaeological evidence of sex/gender differentiation for each of these activities is summarized below.

It has been suggested that women's exclusion from hunting practices represents a cross-cultural phenomenon (Brightman 1996). Taxonomic frequencies at Grasshopper Pueblo suggest that large game was extraordinarily important to the economy of this village (Olsen 1990). Furthermore, bone chemistry analysis of the Grasshopper skeletal remains yielded evidence that meat constituted a substantially larger portion of the diet of men than women (Ezzo 1993). It is probable that communal hunting was a prevalent and culturally significant practice at this time, situated within emergent ritual systems and contributing to the integration of large sedentary communities. A similar trend has been found by Dean (2001) at several sites in the Silver Creek region and by Potter (1997) for the Zuni region, where large mammal hunting seems to have increased during the Pueblo III to Pueblo IV transition. At Grasshopper Pueblo in particular, there is a well-documented association between men and hunting, evidenced both in mortuary trends (Whittlesey and Reid 1997) and in the distribution of chipped stone and tools related to weapons manufacture (Whittaker 1987).

Pottery production in the Southwest appears to have been structured by differentiation in gendered roles (Mills 2000:307). Pottery production is specialized to some degree during the Pueblo III-IV transition, and this increasing specialization is correlated to an increase in aggregation and community size (Mills 2000; Mills and Crown 1995). Intensified production and differentiation of sex roles seem to be related processes; Mills (2000) describes the differentiation of male and female roles in the process of intensification of pottery production across the Southwest as one pathway toward specialization. Pottery production involved a sequence of different tasks, such as raw-material procurement, clay grinding, pot construction, and firing, and it is possible that male and female roles may have been segregated at different stages of production. Material evidence points to a broader separation of manufacturing tasks during the late prehispanic period; rooms containing tools and raw materials exclusively related to pottery production have been documented at Grasshopper Pueblo and Bailey Ruin (Mills 2000; Mills and Crown 1995; Mills et al. 1999). Mortuary data from Grasshopper have also been suggestive of sexual divisions of labor, with pottery manufacturing tools associated with female remains and hunting paraphernalia associated with males (Whittlesey and Reid 1997).

Textile production, associated ethnographically with men, shifts from the household realm into communal structures (kivas) during the late prehispanic period (Webster 1997). Mills (2000) suggests that prehispanic Puebloan textile production was an emergent form of extra-household labor associated primarily with men and tied to broader ritual and economic conditions. In prehispanic and postcolonial Pueblo communities in the American Southwest,

the practice of weaving was socially regulated as a male activity and was tied to kiva architecture, facilitating the disassociation of male activities from the house (Mills 2000; Ortman 1998; Perry and Joyce 2005). Overall, however, it seems that the practice of weaving is somewhat variable across the Southwest in terms of gendered organization through time and space. At Zuni in particular, weaving and spinning tools have been associated with both male and female burials (Howell 1995; Mills 2000), and Mills (1995) points out that ethnographically, both men and women at Zuni practiced weaving but used different types of looms.

The demand for finely ground corn seems to have increased after the reorganization of the northern Southwest. This new demand was likely connected to changing forms of ritual organization and the need for corn in many ceremonial contexts. Grinding has been strongly associated with women in the prehispanic Southwest, based on ethnographic analogy and mortuary data (Crown 2000). Data relating to the distribution of mealing bins through time indicate that the location of grinding shifted from inside rooms to public spaces, such as plazas and extramural areas, after A.D. 1300 at some sites across the northern Southwest (Ortman 1998). Grinding may represent a communal and community-based activity at this time in order to meet ritually based needs for ground corn (Adams 1999).

The archaeological studies of gender in late prehispanic-period villages discussed above allude to evidence that the sexual division of labor was not only present but socially meaningful at multiple scales. The use of space at the village and household levels suggests that women and men not only performed different tasks, but that such performance typically did not occupy the same space: gendered tasks appear to have been physically separated into architectural spaces, such as kivas, rooms, and plazas.

## **GENDERED LABOR AND HUMAN SKELETAL REMAINS**

Although some of the material effects of structured gender divisions of labor can be inferred through material culture and architecture, I have conducted research to investigate whether the sexual division of labor activities inferred from archaeological and ethnographic data is visible on human skeletal remains (Perry 2004). This research focuses on an analysis of the skeletal impact of habitual labor. In my project, the skeletal remains of 140 adult individuals from Grasshopper Pueblo—a large village in east-central Arizona—were examined for evidence of sexual differences in the development of musculoskeletal origin and insertion points. Here I present one part of my larger study.

Analysis concentrates on those areas of the bones of the upper limb (clavicle, humerus, radius, ulna, and metacarpals) where muscles, ligaments, and tendons originate from or insert into the periosteum—the tough membrane overlying the external surface of bones—and into cortical bone (Shipman, Walker, and Bichell 1985). Hawkey and Merbs (1995:324) have termed such areas “musculoskeletal stress markers” (MSMs). Prior to this designation, physical anthropologists investigating muscle insertion areas referred to these areas as “enthesopathies,” or bony lesions located at the site of muscle attachments (Dutor 1986; Genety 1972; Hawkey 1988; LaCava 1959; Merbs 1983).

Hawkey and Merbs developed a scoring system for MSMs based on varying degrees of robusticity at attachment sites, which reflect the cumulative effects of repetitive stress:

In general, the periosteum is well vascularized, and the number of capillaries that supply the periosteum increases when the muscle/tendon/ligament-bone junctions are regularly subjected to minor stress. Osteon remodeling is stimulated by this increased blood flow, and develops where there is greatest muscular activity. Hypertrophy of bone, in the form of a robust muscle attachment, is the direct result of this increased stress, and continual stress of a muscle in daily, repetitive tasks creates a well-preserved skeletal record of an individual's habitual activity patterns (Hawkey and Merbs 1995:324).

These authors describe MSMs in terms of robusticity markers, which in turn describe the visual and palpable characteristics of bone at MSM sites. These markers are assigned qualitative degrees of development. The scoring criteria defined by Hawkey (1988) and Hawkey and Merbs (1995) have been used by other researchers for the development of population-specific assessment criteria for musculoskeletal attachment sites (see Hawkey 1998). The present chapter uses individual scoring criteria for each muscle attachment site based on the observed range of variation in the Grasshopper population. Two types of data are recorded at each MSM under investigation: robusticity scores and metric measurements (detailed descriptions of qualitative and quantitative scoring criteria are provided in Perry 2004).

Some researchers have viewed the use of osteological signatures to deduce occupation skeptically, particularly when a discrete skeletal signature observed on a single individual is hypothesized to have been produced by a single activity (e.g., Bridges 1996; Jurmain 1999; Waldron 1994). This chapter avoids that pitfall by identifying patterns evident within a *population* and recording skeletal symmetry, asymmetry, and robusticity that are hypothesized to have been produced through the lifelong participation in *suites* of sexually divided labor activities inferred through ethnographic and



archaeological means. The patterns found in this population and summarized below are not meaningful when observed on the remains of a single individual: they are meaningful when they represent statistically significant trends in a prehistoric population.<sup>3</sup>

## SEXUAL DIFFERENTIATION IN MUSCULOSKELETAL SIGNATURES

### Trends in Symmetry

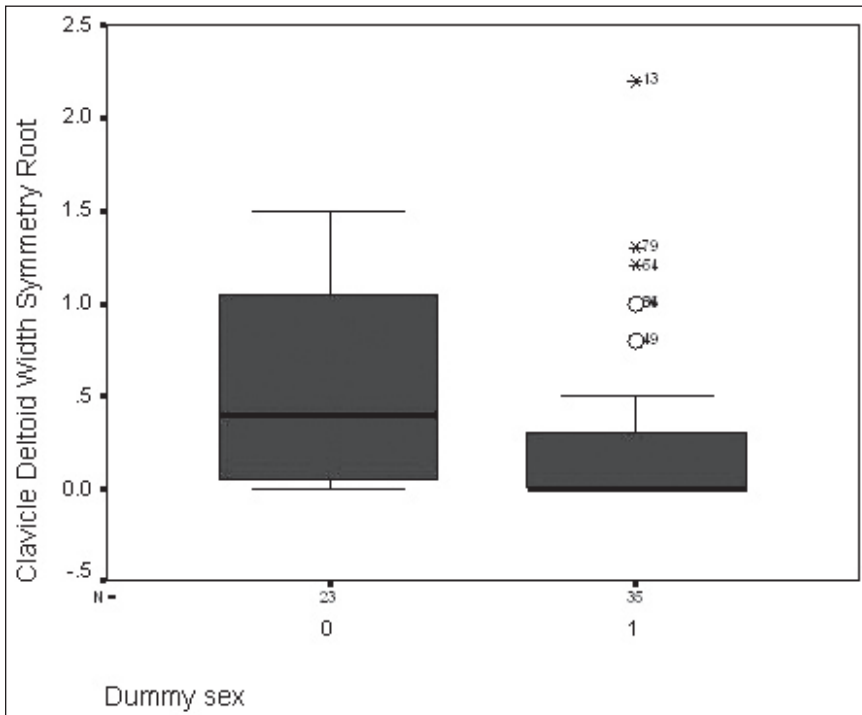
Statistically significant sex differences in muscular symmetry were evident in several major muscle groups (table 5.1). The prime movers of the upper arm and shoulder, the ligaments that stabilize the chest and shoulder, and the flexors of the elbow are all overwhelmingly asymmetrical among the males from Grasshopper Pueblo. Figures 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 show the distribution of asymmetry coefficients for measures of the deltoid and costoclavicular ligaments. A score of zero represents perfect symmetry in the size and development of the muscle attachment site; increasing values represent increasing asymmetry. These figures demonstrate that more men exhibit asymmetry than women, and men generally exhibit higher median asymmetry values than women. Women are highly symmetrical in the development of these muscles. There are outliers within and even exceeding the male range of asymmetry, but these individuals exhibit skeletal pathologies that contributed to asymmetrical development.

The muscles that exhibit asymmetry in the shoulder and upper arm of males are implicated in multiple activities identified as likely to have been

**Table 5.1. Muscles and Ligaments of the Upper Body Where Women Exhibit Symmetry and Men Exhibit Asymmetry**

Region and Muscles/Ligaments	Bones Involved	Actions
<i>Shoulder and Upper Arm:</i> Deltoid, Pectoralis Major, Latissimus Dorsi, Teres Major Coracobrachialis	Clavicle and Humerus	Abduction/Adduction Flexion/Extension Medial/Lateral Rotation
<i>Chest and Shoulder:</i> Costoclavicular Ligament Trapezoid Ligament	Clavicle	Stabilization of Chest and Shoulder Anchors Medial and Lateral Clavicle
<i>Elbow and Lower Arm</i> Common Flexors Biceps, Triceps, Brachialis	Humerus, Radius, Ulna	Flexion/Extension of Elbow, Forearm, and Hand





**Figure 5.1.** The distribution of deltoid (clavicle MSM) asymmetry scores by sex (male = 0, female = 1).

regularly performed by men at Grasshopper, such as agricultural labor (planting and field preparation with digging sticks, brush clearing, staving with a stone sickle, hilling with hoelike tools), as well as the use of the bow and arrow. The biomechanics of archery provides an apt example: an archer with a drawn bow will have employed the deltoid to laterally lift (abduct) the arm away from the median plane, extend it posteriorly, and laterally rotate the shoulder. The latissimus dorsi and teres major are activated and assist the deltoid in posterior extension, and then work in conjunction with pectoralis major and the coracobrachialis in adduction (lowering) of the arm and medially rotating the shoulder when the arrow is released. Drawing a bow in this manner requires stabilization of the shoulder girdle at the acromioclavicular (lateral) and sternoclavicular joints, which exerts force asymmetrically upon the costoclavicular and trapezoid ligaments. The elbow is actively flexed when the bow is drawn; the hand is flexed over the arrow and then extended when the arrow is released and the arm is relaxed. The brachialis and the biceps are the primary flexors of the elbow, assisted by the common flexors

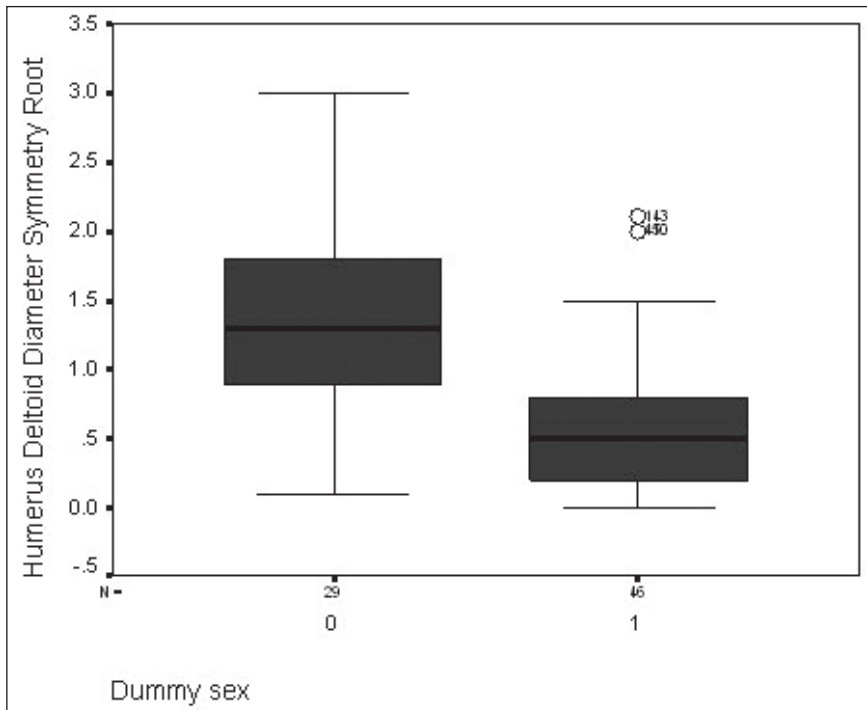
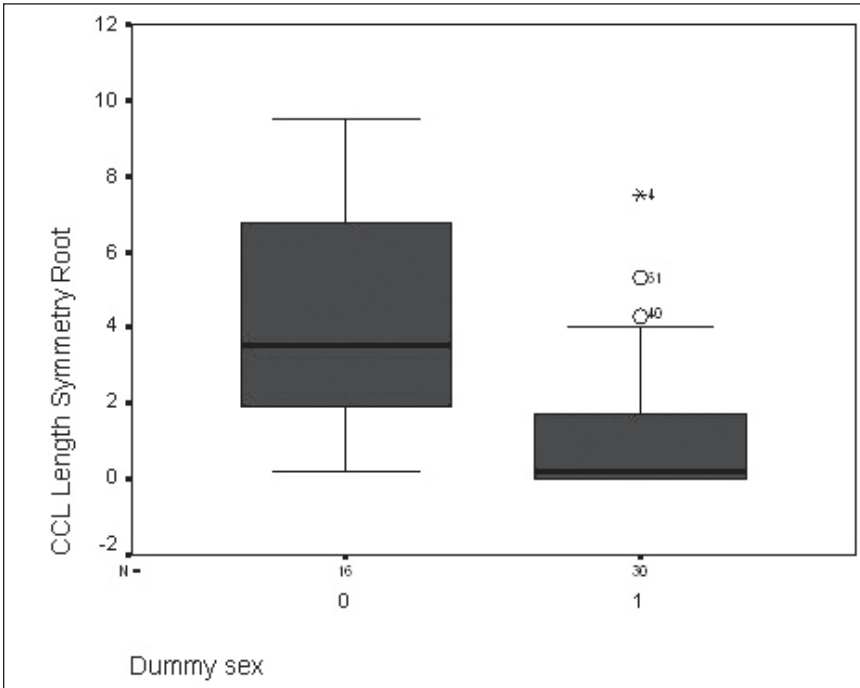


Figure 5.2. The distribution of deltoid (humerus MSM) asymmetry scores by sex (male = 0, female = 1).

that also flex the hand, originating at the medial epicondyle of the humerus. These muscles exhibit significant asymmetry, along with the triceps, which is the major extensor of the elbow.

Large-game hunting and its association with masculine identity likely intensified during the Pueblo IV period in general (Potter 1997) and at Grasshopper Pueblo in particular (Olsen 1990). The significant degree of asymmetry present in the muscles and ligaments primarily affected by repetitive bow and arrow use is consistent with these assumptions. One ethnographer visiting the historic Hopi Pueblo observed that young boys and men received daily training and instruction in archery throughout their lives (Beaglehole 1937). The cumulative effects of such training could impact skeletal symmetry in a way consistent with the results of this study. An interesting age-related trend is evident among males in asymmetry of the common flexors: young males are more asymmetrical than older males in these muscles (figure 5.4). This may be indicative of relative intensity and diversity of asymmetrical activities among males: young men in training may spend more time in focused repetition of bow and arrow



**Figure 5.3.** The distribution of clavicle costoclavicular ligament asymmetry scores by sex (male = 0, female = 1).

use, for instance, while older males may diversify into more generalized farming labor, which activates shoulder and upper-arm muscle groups more often relative to the elbow and hand.

Among women, these same muscles are all affected by symmetrical activities, such as winnowing and grinding labor. For example, an individual grinding corn at a metate within a mealing bin will kneel in front of the bin, possibly with feet braced against a wall. Bending at the waist, both shoulders/upper arms are flexed and abducted, and the shoulders are rotated medially. When the individual places both hands upon the mano set within the metate, pressure is exerted, and the arms are repeatedly flexed and extended at the shoulders and elbows. This form of repetitive motion places stress on the sternoclavicular and acromioclavicular joints, and thus the ligaments that anchor these joints and stabilize the thorax and the scapulae (the costoclavicular, conoid, and trapezoid ligaments) are under pressure. These ligaments are differentially activated relative to others in response to motion that produces an upward elevation of the clavicle through the forward flexion and abduction of the arms, as occurs when grinding at a metate. The women from Grasshop-

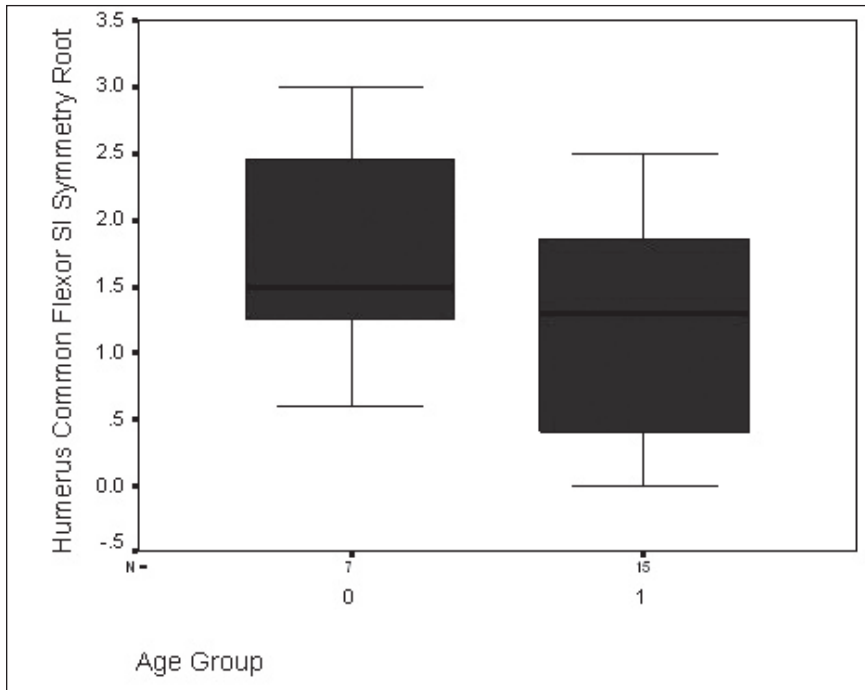


Figure 5.4. The distribution of male common flexor origin superior-inferior diameter asymmetry scores by age group (young/subadults = 0 and middle/old adults = 1).

per exhibit almost perfect symmetry in these ligaments, possessing symmetry coefficients that show virtually no difference between the left and right sides of the body. Not only do males possess a higher degree of asymmetry than females, but in many areas a substantial proportion of females are virtually completely symmetrical.

Women from Grasshopper are significantly more asymmetrical than men in the transverse head of the adductor pollicis, which pulls the thumb toward the center of the hand. One ethnographic observer noted that a potter clasps shaping and scraping implements between the thumb and fingers of the dominant hand: “The women hold the *kajepe* (scraping tool) with fingers either slightly bent, or nearly fully flexed; in the latter position the tool is grasped between the thumb and bent forefinger”(Guthe 1925:39). This movement activates the adductor pollicis. Since the nondominant hand is used to steady the pot, this repetitive activity involves asymmetrical use of this muscle. Other stages in pottery production also involve asymmetrical movements of the thumb and fingers, such as pinching the clay coils together while building a pot, and painting pottery. Other activities identified in the compilation of

Pueblo-associated labors described above that involve repetitive asymmetrical grasping of the hand include weeding, husking and shucking corn, and cooking-related tasks.

### **Trends in Robusticity**

In general, men are larger than women in the Grasshopper skeletal population. This presents a challenge in determining whether women are using certain muscle groups more intensively than men (and vice versa), and if the greater relative robusticity of men in some muscle groups is due to body size or activity levels. Overall, males in this community are more robust than women in the prime movers of the arms and shoulders—such as the deltoid and biceps—and also in the common flexors of the elbow and hand. The dependent variable in the tables presented in table 5.2 is a metric measurement representing robusticity of the common flexor origin site (on the medial epicondyle of the humerus). Sex is represented by a dummy variable where male equals zero and the value for female is one (1). Initial correlation results showed a negative correlation between sex and robusticity of the common flexor origin, indicating that maleness is correlated to greater robusticity. In the regression equation depicted in table 5.2, age, sex, and body size (represented by the maximum length of the bone in question—the humerus) are predictors of robusticity, together accounting for almost 60 percent of variance in robusticity of the common flexor origin. Examination of the standardized partial regression coefficients shows that maleness—relative to body size—is the most significant predictor. These results suggest that it is not the overall larger body size of males that it is the most significant predictor of robusticity in the flexor muscles, but rather the condition of being male, and engaging differentially (compared to females) in the activities that utilize these muscles and tendons.

Age is also a significant factor in muscle-attachment robusticity. All things being equal, musculoskeletal robusticity normally increases with age. For all measures of the common flexors of the hand and elbow, however, the normal association between age and robusticity is not present among males; young men are equally as robust as old men. Women, in contrast, exhibit a normal age-associated increase in common flexor robusticity. This may indicate that men are intensively performing activities at a young age that involve habitual flexion of the elbow, forearm, and hand (such as archery), which disrupts the normal, more gradual development of such musculature. Combined with the greater asymmetry of men—and of young men relative to old men—there is a strong case for the early and sustained intensity of bow and arrow use among men.

**Table 5.2. Regression Results: Superior-Inferior Diameter of the Right Common Flexor Origin MSM (Humerus)**

<b>Model Summary (b)</b>				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.774(a)	.599	.576	1.61290

a: Predictors: (Constant), Body Size (Maximum Length of the Right Humerus), Age, Sex

b: Dependent Variable: Superior-Inferior Diameter of the Right Common Flexor Origin MSM

<b>ANOVA (b)</b>						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	201.944	3	67.315	25.876	.000(a)
	Residual	135.275	52	2.601		
	Total	337.219	55			

**Coefficients (a)**

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Correlations		
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Zero-order	Partial	Part
1	(Constant)	11.073	5.165		2.144	.037			
	Age	.059	.019	.286	3.173	.003	.419	.403	.279
	Sex	-2.701	.631	-.521	-4.280	.000	-.711	-.510	-.376
	Body Size (Maximum Length of the Humerus)	.025	.016	.189	1.583	.120	.572	.214	.139

Dependent Variable: Superior-Inferior Diameter of the Right Common Flexor Origin MSM

Women exhibit greater robusticity than men in three areas: the ligaments that stabilize the chest and shoulder, the muscles that pronate the hand and forearm, and the muscles that draw the thumb toward the center of the palm (table 5.3). Using the robusticity score of the costoclavicular ligament as an example, it is clear in the correlation matrix (table 5.4) that there is a *positive* correlation between sex and robusticity for this variable; this indicates that femaleness is correlated with increasing robusticity. The regression results for the variable describing robusticity of this ligament indicate that femaleness is the most significant predictor of robusticity in the costoclavicular ligament

**Table 5.3. Muscles and Ligaments Characterized by Greater Relative Female Robusticity**

Action	Muscles/Ligaments	Bone(s)
Stabilization of Chest and Shoulder at Acromioclavicular and Sternoclavicular Joints	Costoclavicular Ligament Conoid Ligament Trapezoid Ligament	Clavicle
Pronation and Flexion of Forearm and Elbow	Pronator Teres Pronator Quadratus	Humerus, Radius, Ulna
Drawing Thumb to Palm and Fifth Finger	Adductor Pollicis Opponens Digiti Minimi	First, Third and Fifth Metacarpals

**Table 5.4. Correlation Matrix: Costoclavicular Ligament MSM Robusticity Score (Clavicle)**

		Robusticity Score Costoclavicular Ligament Left Clavicle (CCL Robusticity)	Sex Male = 0 Female = 1	Age	Body Size Maximum Length Left Clavicle
Pearson Correlation	CCL Robusticity	1.000	.259	.293	-.062
	Sex	.259	1.000	-.153	-.773
	Age	.293	-.153	1.000	.085
	Body Size	-.062	-.773	.085	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	CCL Robusticity	.	.039	.023	.339
	Sex	.039	.	.152	.000
	Age	.023	.152	.	.286
	Body Size	.339	.000	.286	.
N	CCL Robusticity	47	47	47	47
	Sex	47	47	47	47
	Age	47	47	47	47
	Body Size	47	47	47	47

**Table 5.5. Regression Results: Costoclavicular Ligament MSM Robusticity Score (Clavicle)****Model Summary (b)**

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.486(a)	.237	.183	43152

a: Predictors: (Constant), Body Size (Maximum Length of the Left Clavicle), Age, Sex

b: Dependent Variable: Costoclavicular Ligament MSM Robusticity Score (Clavicle)

**ANOVA (b)**

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	2.482	3	.827	4.443	.008(a)
	Residual	8.007	43	.186		
	Total	10.489	46			

**Coefficients (a)**

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Correlations		
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Zero-order	Partial	Part
1	(Constant)	-.320	1.250		-.256	.799			
	Sex	.592	.209	.603	2.840	.007	.259	.397	.378
	Age	.015	.006	.354	2.619	.012	.293	.371	.349
	Body Size	.014	.008	.374	1.777	.083	-.062	.262	.237

Dependent Variable: Costoclavicular Ligament MSM Robusticity Score (Clavicle)

(table 5.5). The same results are found for robusticity in the pronator muscles and muscles of the hand.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the clavicular ligaments that stabilize the chest and shoulder, resisting displacement of the clavicle from the sternum and scapula, are placed under considerable direct stress during corn grinding. An age-independent pattern among women exists for these ligaments as well, in that young women exhibit the same degree of robusticity as old women. As occurred with young males for the common flexor muscles, the normal age-progressive pattern of gradually increasing robusticity is disrupted among women. Among males, however, robusticity in these ligaments normally increases with age. Ethnographers of the historic pueblos report that young women begin to grind corn when they are initiated around the time of puberty,



and the performance of this activity from that point on is frequent and intense (see descriptions in Beaglehole 1937; Cushing 1920; Eggan 1950; Parson 1939; Stevenson 1904). In the years following European contact, Hewlett and Dutton (1945) noted that intensive grinding utilizing the *mano* and *metate* among younger women dropped off, as wheat flour began to replace corn flour for household use. The following description of the differences between the old women and the young women at the Tewa Pueblos provides a sense of how women in the ancestral Pueblo may have experienced grinding:

Older women contrast their own hands, in which certain muscles are largely developed, while the fingernails are worn down obliquely by rubbing on the *metate*, with the slight hands of the girls. In the youth of the former, women used to rise before dawn to grind . . . several women would grind together at night; they ground successively on three or four *metates* ranging from rough to smooth. On the first they broke up the corn, and reduced it to fine flour on the fourth, toasting it after each grinding (Hewlett and Dutton 1945:83).

Other muscles where women are differentially robust are implicated in types of movement associated with the stages of pottery production. The pronator muscles (*pronator teres* and *quadratus*) are responsible for rotating the palm and wrist and are activated during clay manipulation: kneading, removing particles, and the coiling of pots. Types of food preparation also involve such movements of the wrist—husking and shelling corn and kneading dough, for example. Many household tasks reported in ethnographic accounts, including pruning and gardening, washing, and cooking, tend to involve the forearm and wrist, requiring focused movements of pronation and flexion. For the *pronator teres* attachments on the humerus, young women exhibit the same degree of robusticity as older women, suggesting intensive participation in labor involving these wrist-focused movements at a young age. Young men, on the other hand, are significantly less robust than older men for these muscles.

Finally, women are more robust than men in those muscles responsible for movement in the first and fifth metacarpals (thumb and little finger). The abductor and adductor pollicis are responsible for extending the thumb and bringing it into opposition with the center of the palm and fingers. The *opponens digiti minimi* brings the little finger into opposition with the thumb. This movement is necessary for a suite of activities in finishing a pot, where an instrument, such as a scraper, a polishing stone, or a paintbrush, is clasped between the thumb and fingers. Descriptions of these activities in the ethnographic literature characterize them as habitual and time consuming, and the greater relative robusticity of these muscles among women is consistent with that representation.

## CONCLUSION

Archaeological investigations of gender in late prehispanic-period villages have alluded to evidence that the sexual division of labor was not only present but socially meaningful at multiple scales. The use of space at the village and household levels suggests that women and men not only performed different tasks, but that such performance could not even occupy the same space: gendered tasks had to be physically separated, and in some cases they were not observed by members of the opposite sex. The musculoskeletal evidence produced by this study strongly suggests that the division of labor considerably affected the skeletal body throughout the adult lives of most individuals. Skeletal morphological differences point to a rigid division of labor, with little flexibility or personal agency in choosing the type of labor one preferred to perform. Thus the division of labor was expressed and reinforced in virtually every dimension that contained meaning: symbolically, in ritual and ceremonial life; in the spaces they occupied; and in habitual, repetitive bodily experience. The simultaneous reification of gender dualism at all of these scales powerfully constructs tangible identities of femaleness and maleness that “go without saying” (Bourdieu 1990) and may be experienced as essentially natural phenomena by community members.

Given that the sexual division of labor was rigid, what does this division mean for the experience of women, and the potential for women’s agency? Women appear to have been excluded from large-game hunting and likely spent an excessive amount of time in food processing (of corn, in particular) that fed and benefited community members of both sexes. At Grasshopper, there is also evidence that women’s exclusion from hunting activities and confinement to the realm of corn processing precluded access to meat. Bone chemistry analysis of the Grasshopper skeletal collection concluded that women suffered from dietary stress stemming from a lack of meat in the diet, but that men consumed adequate levels of protein (Ezzo 1993). Although women’s labor provided food for the entire community, men’s labor provided food for men. Women’s possibilities for agency and decision making in the realm of habitual labor appear fairly circumscribed in this case, with the effects of structure inscribed on the skeletal body.

Agency is a broadly defined concept, and women unquestionably engaged in such behavior. However, it is important to understand that opportunities for the kind of “agency” that improved the quality of one’s life or had the potential to effect social change were not equally available to female and male agents. In the case of women at Grasshopper Pueblo, the limiting effects of structure and the social reproduction of circumscribing identities were keenly experienced. While investigating agency as a human-centered mechanism of

social change in prehistory is unquestionably valuable, our theoretical emphasis on this topic should not blind us to the corresponding social and economic inequities experienced by some members of prehistoric communities.

## NOTES

1. Gender, in this context, refers to a social performance that includes types of labor. However, the author refers to “sex” and “sexual” divisions of labor because the difference between females and males in this study was determined by skeletal sex.

2. The concept of “heterarchy” has been introduced in this context as well (Brumfiel 1995; Crumley 1995; Crumley and Marquardt 1987; Rautman 1998; Rogers 1995; Spencer 1994; White 1995). As a theoretical orientation, heterarchy questions long held assumptions among archaeologists and anthropologists regarding the nature of social and political ranking. In a heterarchical model, elements of a social system may exhibit unexpected variability and crossover in terms of ranking or may not be ranked at all. This model rejects the identification of egalitarianism or hierarchy as alternating or dichotomous variables in a social system, in favor of opening up the range of possibilities in a social formation (Rautman 1998).

3. See the discussion in Perry (2006) for additional insight on the challenges associated with inferring occupation from skeletal signatures and the steps taken in this study to avoid these pitfalls.

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## An Agent-Centered Case Study of the Depopulation of Sand Canyon Pueblo

*Kristin A. Kuckelman*

In recent decades, archaeologists have focused a good deal of attention on the concept of human agency. The borrowing of this concept, rooted in social theory, is appropriate: among its many advantages, agency theory is clearly useful to achieving a more enriched and enhanced understanding of sociocultural change (see Brumfiel 2000:251–52). Historically, the concept has been defined, invoked, and used variously by social theorists, anthropologists, and, finally, archaeologists (Dobres and Robb 2000b), who have struggled with its definition, application, and the substance of its potential to contribute to archaeology. Among the diverse approaches of archaeologists, there does appear to be some common ground, however (Brumfiel 2000). In the spirit of functioning on this common ground, “agency” is defined in a fairly general way here as the choices people make as they act to achieve their goals; in expressing their agency, humans exhibit their capacity for forming intentions and taking creative and innovative action (Sewell 1992:20; Varien and Potter, this volume). Structure, which is essential for providing the context for agency, is defined as the societal rules and resources that are available to people (Giddens 1984:377; Varien and Potter, this volume). These rules and resources are both material and mental, although material objects are understood as resources only through the schemas of a particular society and individual (Giddens 1984:17; Sewell 1992:6). Further, structure is both the context for and the outcome of human agency, and the relationship between structure and agency is therefore not a steady state (Sewell 1992:4).

Hodder (2000:22) maintains that an account of agency should include dimensions of experience that can be gained from an examination of individual lives—that archaeologists should focus on individual narratives of lived lives

and events. In this vein, here I examine, from an agency perspective, the Sand Canyon community of the central Mesa Verde region during the final years of regional occupation. This case study pieces together evidence of an individual—important aspects of life and death, choices made, actions taken, events experienced, and possible direct ancestors and descendants—within a framework of structure and agency. The result is a chronicle of an individual within a community whose members were compelled to make choices and take actions to alleviate acute subsistence stress by modifying subsistence strategies and competing for resources; ultimately, some chose to emigrate from the region, and others fell victim to escalating violence.

### A CASE STUDY FROM SAND CANYON

This case study uses agency theory to examine one individual, within a specific societal context, to elucidate conditions, choices, and events that resulted in the demise of the thirteenth-century Sand Canyon community, which was centered in a large village near the head of Sand Canyon, in what is now southwestern Colorado (figure 6.1). In the following discussion, I begin with background information about the source of the data used as well as pertinent aspects of the cultural and environmental contexts and the subsistence setting

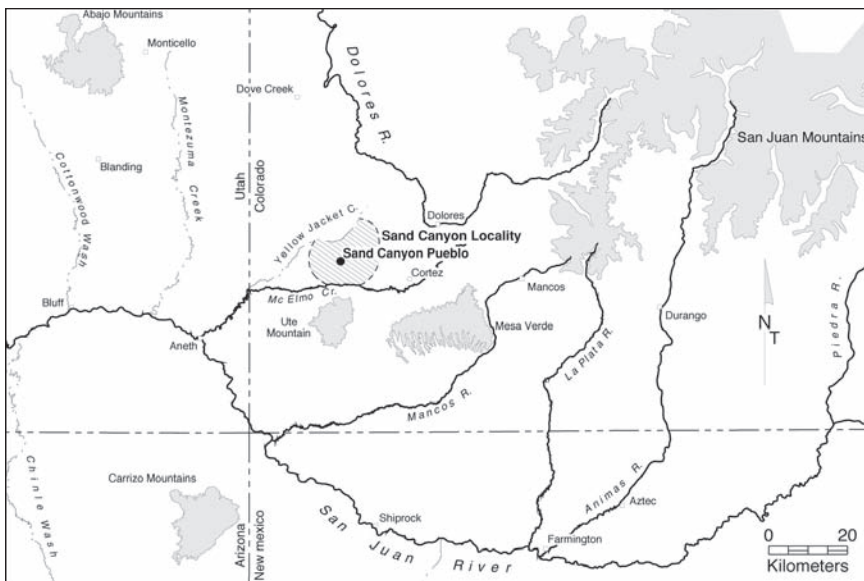


Figure 6.1. The location of Sand Canyon Pueblo. Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

of the community. I then focus on the physical evidence of the agent of this study and, to the extent possible, on the physical, social, political, economic, and environmental realities in which he lived his life.

Solid empirical data are essential for meaningful archaeological studies, and Sassaman (2000:164) correctly points out how vital these data are to an agent-centered prehistory. The data for the case study presented here were generated by a field research project conducted by the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center between 1984 and 1993, during which 5 percent of the site of Sand Canyon Pueblo was excavated (Kuckelman 2007c) (figure 6.2). The data and inferences from which this study was drawn are presented and discussed in several publications (Adams et al. 2007; Crow Canyon 2002; Kuckelman 2007a, 2007b; Kuckelman et al. 2003; Kuckelman and Martin 2007). The investigations at Sand Canyon Pueblo were part of a larger effort, the Sand Canyon Archaeological Project, which focused on Pueblo III (A.D. 1150–1300) settlement in the central Mesa Verde region (Lipe 1992a; Varien and Wilshusen 2002a). This project included many field and analytic studies whose geographic focus was the Sand Canyon locality, a 200 km<sup>2</sup> study area (Lipe 1992a:2) in the McElmo drainage unit of the northern San Juan area (Eddy et al. 1984).

Goals of the Sand Canyon Archaeological Project included discovering the community organization in the locality, exploring the cultural and environmental conditions in the years leading up to the depopulation of the region in the late thirteenth century, and determining the placement of the Pueblo III occupation and depopulation of this locality in broader cultural and theoretical contexts (Lipe 1992b; Varien and Wilshusen 2002b). As a part of the project, Crow Canyon archaeologists and research associates conducted a variety of extensive investigations designed to broaden understanding of the ancient Pueblo communities of the canyons and rolling uplands northwest of the Mesa Verde escarpment (see bibliography in Kuckelman 2007c).

Sand Canyon Pueblo (Site 5MT765), the nexus of the Sand Canyon community and one of the largest settlements in the Sand Canyon locality, contained an estimated 420 rooms, 90 kivas, 14 towers, an enclosed plaza, a D-shaped bi-wall block, a great kiva, and other structures and features (Bradley 1992:79, 1993). The village, at an elevation of 6,800 ft (2,073 m), enclosed a spring and was constructed around the head of a small, unnamed tributary canyon that drains southward into upper Sand Canyon. The community also included the residents of numerous small habitations within the canyon and on the rolling uplands nearby. In the village, which housed an estimated four hundred to six hundred people, masonry structures were built both on the canyon rim and on the slopes below the rim. Residents built most of these structures within the arc of a masonry wall that enclosed the village on the

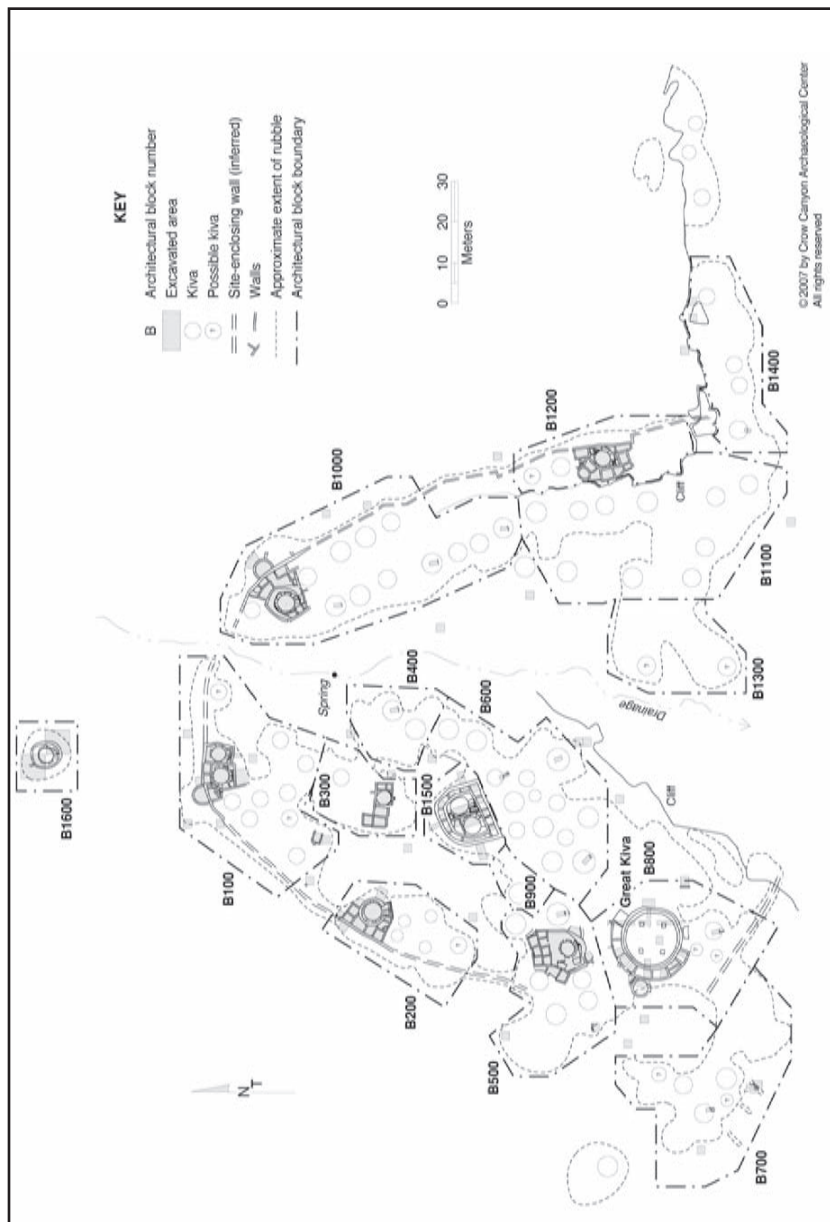


Figure 6.2. A plan map of Sand Canyon Pueblo. Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

southwest, west, north, and east. Various lines of evidence suggest that this massive wall served defensive purposes (Kuckelman et al. 2003: par. 172). It is likely that this structure, arguably the most complete and formidable village enclosure constructed in the central Mesa Verde region during the thirteenth century, reflects the level of threat perceived by the members of the Sand Canyon community who built it.

When members of the Sand Canyon community and other communities in the Sand Canyon locality founded aggregated settlements, many residents of the region had already left their small family farmsteads on rolling uplands to construct new homes in villages on canyon rims or in cliff overhangs that either enclosed or were near springs. Forming very late in the history of the occupation of the region, the villages in the Sand Canyon locality were constructed primarily during the A.D. 1250s and 1260s, in the final decades before the Mesa Verde region was completely depopulated. Survey-level data indicate population movement toward the central portion of the region in the first half of the thirteenth century—probably including movement of new residents into the Sand Canyon locality—and population levels in this locality reached an all-time high between A.D. 1260 and 1280 (Ortman and Varien 2007; Varien 1999; Varien et al. 2007).

### **The Subsistence Base of the Sand Canyon Community**

Multiple lines of evidence from Sand Canyon and from contemporaneous excavated sites in the region suggest that by the mid-1200s, the subsistence base of Pueblo farmers had become heavily dependent on maize (Adams et al. 2007; Katzenberg 1995; Kuckelman 2007a, 2007b) and on domesticated turkeys (Driver 2002; Kuckelman 2007a, 2007b; Muir 2007; Munro 1994). It is also probable that this increasing dependence on domesticates was at least partly an outcome of a millennium of wild resource exploitation, which included hunting, collecting wild plant foods, and harvesting wood for fuel and construction timbers by Pueblo farmers. In all likelihood, this long-term use had significantly reduced the abundance of natural resources in the area (Adams and Bowyer 2002:123; Dean and Van West 2002:97; Driver 2002:158–60; Johnson et al. 2005; Kohler 2004; Kohler et al. 2007).

The residents of Sand Canyon Pueblo appear to have been healthy, as evidenced by their skeletal remains (Kuckelman and Martin 2007). We can assume then that their heavily maize- and turkey-dependent diet was a successful strategy. On the other hand, because the diet of the villagers was maize dependent, and because the domesticated turkeys were also fed maize, as indicated by the results of carbon isotope analysis (Katzenberg 1995), the subsistence base of the Sand Canyon community was probably heavily—and



thus somewhat precariously—dependent on the success of this one crop (see Kuckelman 2007a, 2007b).

In any particular year, the success of the maize crop was contingent on numerous factors, some of which researchers have been able to assess from indirect evidence and through various reconstructions (e.g., Dean and Van West 2002; Kohler et al. 2007; Petersen 1988; Van West 1994; Varien et al. 2007). Environmental reconstructions reflect that in the late 1200s, conditions became very unfavorable for farming (Dean and Van West 2002), including disrupted seasonal precipitation patterns (Dean 1996), a reduced farming belt (Petersen 1988), colder-than-normal temperatures (Salzer 2000:303), and, beginning in A.D. 1276 and lasting until 1299, the Great Drought (Douglass 1929). Some conditions crucial for growing maize, such as the precise annual number of frost-free days and the timing of precipitation in a given year, are variable and unpredictable in the central Mesa Verde region, and whether these conditions were adequate for growing maize in any specific year cannot be determined with the techniques currently available for climatic reconstruction. If conditions were unfavorable, crop yields could have been dramatically diminished or even decimated. Other wild plant foods, as well as weedy annuals associated with crops, could have also been significantly diminished. In sum, it is not possible to determine whether maize crops were successful during the early years of the Great Drought. The archaeobotanical evidence from abandonment contexts at Sand Canyon Pueblo suggests that conditions might have been worse than indicated by reconstructions of agricultural production (Kohler et al. 2006; Varien et al. 2007).

### **Block 100 Man**

Among the residents of Sand Canyon Pueblo was the primary agent of this case study, a man whose remains are provenienced as Human Remains Occurrence 2 (or HRO 2). The skeletal remains of this individual show strong occupational markers, congenital anomalies, manner of death, evidence of ill health at the time of death, and the means of disposition of his remains. Because the remains of this man were found in a room in Architectural Block 100, I refer to him throughout this chapter as Block 100 man. The evidence of this person's life and death, from an agency perspective, adds an important dimension and focus to our understanding of conditions and events in the Sand Canyon community—and thus also in the region—in the late A.D. 1200s.

Evidence suggests that Block 100 man died when he was between forty and forty-five years of age, and that he died during final village depopulation—about A.D. 1280. Thus, this man was born about A.D. 1235 or 1240 and must have been born somewhere other than Sand Canyon Pueblo, because his birth

predated the founding of this village by ten to fifteen years. Thus, he might have moved to a burgeoning Sand Canyon Pueblo with his family when he was an adolescent, or he might have moved as an adult into the village after it was well established. He was robust and had been well nourished during his lifetime; his diet was similar to that of other residents of the village—heavily maize reliant, according to the results of carbon isotope analyses (Katzenberg 1995).

A variety of physical characteristics suggest possible ancestors and descendants, blood relatives within the village, and actions in which this individual frequently engaged. For example, he was afflicted with a specific variety of postaxial foot polydactyly. That is, he was born with six toes on his right foot, and the extra toe projected from his fifth toe, which is indicated skeletally by a bifid fifth metatarsal. This specific variety of foot polydactyly is rarely found in ancient skeletal remains but was shared by an individual whose remains were interred in a room at Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon (Barnes 1994a) approximately 85 to 215 years before the birth of Block 100 man. (Several other congenital anomalies were shared by different inhabitants of Sand Canyon Pueblo and other residents of Chaco Canyon. See Kuckelman and Martin 2007.) It is thus possible that ancestors of Block 100 man and other Sand Canyon villagers were residents of Chaco Canyon before migrating to the central Mesa Verde region. If so, this movement could be indicative of general migration streams after the depopulation of Chaco Canyon in the middle A.D. 1100s. Varien and others (2007) have also found evidence of population movement into the Mesa Verde region when Chaco outliers were first built here, between A.D. 1060 and 1100. In addition, the context of the remains of the individual with polydactyly at Pueblo Bonito has been interpreted to indicate that this person was of higher status than those buried in smaller settlements in Chaco Canyon (Akins 2003:103), which invites speculation that the individuals at Sand Canyon with congenital anomalies similar to those found in Chaco Canyon also enjoyed elevated status, and it also raises the possibility of long-term reproduction within a smaller-than-optimum gene pool in these populations.

There is physical evidence that this individual was biologically related to contemporaries whose skeletal remains were found in the cluster of excavated structures in Architectural Block 100 at Sand Canyon Pueblo, and that he was also related to a kin group whose remains were found in Block 1000 to the southeast (Kuckelman and Martin 2007: Table 15). This evidence of consanguinity includes shared developmental anomalies of the sternum, premature closing of cranial sutures, and dental abnormalities—especially the congenital absence of specific teeth.

The proximity of the remains of Block 100 man to the remains of others with shared congenital anomalies strongly suggests that the people whose remains

were found in Block 100 were biologically related to each other. And because people of both genders and of widely ranging ages are represented, it is probable that these remains are those of a resident family rather than those of attacking warriors (see Depopulation discussion, below). Also implied is that the structures in which the remains were found were, in all likelihood, residential rather than special-use buildings for members of a specific society for particular ritual or sociopolitical purposes (but see Bradley 1993; Muir 2007).

The remains of Block 100 man exhibit skeletal alterations known as musculoskeletal stress markers (MSMs), which resulted from frequent and repeated motions. Markers of this type are discussed in detail by Elizabeth Perry in the previous chapter. MSMs exhibited by Block 100 man include osteoarthritis of both elbows, an unusually large right clavicle, and oddly flared and angled arm bones. His right radius is thicker and more flared than his left, and the distal end of his right ulna is very flared. His right hand is slightly larger than his left, and the distal phalanx of his right thumb is concave. His linea asperae are large, squared-off, and pronounced. His acetabulae are large, displaced, and porous, and his ischial tuberosities are craggy.

These stress markers, considered together, suggest that this person was right-handed, spent a great deal of time sitting with his legs extended in front of him, and fashioned labor-intensive items braced between his knees. His work included strenuous and habitual use of the muscles of his chest and right arm, and repetitive pushing with the end of his right thumb. These attributes could have resulted from a lifetime of engaging in the activities of a craftsman. Artifacts and features associated with the room in which his remains were found suggest that he might have specialized in the production of labor-intensive items or ground-stone tools and might have enjoyed special status within the village (see also Till 2007).

### **Acute Subsistence Stress at Sand Canyon**

Near the time of depopulation of the village and the region, the subsistence base of Block 100 man and the other residents of the village appears to have changed. Several lines of evidence suggest that near the time of depopulation, villagers were consuming much less maize and turkey meat and more wild plants and meat from wild animals (Kuckelman 2007a, 2007b). This was in spite of the fact that by the mid-A.D. 1200s, natural resources of the region had probably been dramatically reduced by centuries of occupation (Dean and Van West 2002:97; Driver 2002:158–60; Kohler et al. 2007). The evidence of this subsistence change includes differences in the percentages and variety of faunal and vegetal taxa in midden deposits (which represent behavior during most of the occupation of the village)

**Table 6.1. Comparison of Food-Resource Use during Most of the Occupation vs. That at the End of Occupation, Sand Canyon Pueblo**

<i>Food Resource</i>	<i>Middens (occupational)</i>	<i>Abandonment Contexts</i>
Turkey	55% of Identified Specimens	14% (of IS)
Maize kernels	44% ubiquity	10% ubiquity
Overall diversity (variety) of edible plants	54%	80%

as compared to those in abandonment contexts (which represent behavior just before village depopulation).

Data in table 6.1, for example, indicate that turkey remains compose 55 percent of the identified animal bones in midden contexts but only 14 percent of the bones in abandonment contexts, and the ubiquity of maize drops from 44 percent in middens to 10 percent in abandonment contexts. The diversity of plant foods increases from 54 percent in midden contexts to 80 percent in abandonment contexts.<sup>1</sup>

The contents of the latest thermal features and other abandonment contexts at the site indicate that just before the village was depopulated, residents were preparing little maize (Adams et al. 2007) or turkey meat (Kuckelman 2007a, 2007b) for consumption. Some of the wild resources found in abandonment contexts are plants seldom found in the vegetal remains from sites in this region, and their presence could have resulted from the exploitation of non-preferred plant foods within the region or the acquisition of plant foods from outside the region (Adams et al. 2007). The villagers also obtained animals they had not procured, or had seldom procured, previously, such as pronghorn antelope, bighorn sheep, bobcat and other carnivores, and predatory birds (Kuckelman 2006). The variety of animals being exploited increased from significantly below the expected level during occupation to above the expected level just before depopulation (Muir 2007: Fig. 10).

The latest tree-ring date for Sand Canyon Pueblo is A.D. 1277 (noncutting), soon after the proposed onset of the Great Drought in 1276. After considering all data available for the site, I think it is likely that after the onset of this drought, maize crops either were much reduced or failed entirely, and turkey flocks dwindled because maize could not be spared for feed and because the villagers needed extra turkey meat for basic sustenance. In sum, this community experienced acute subsistence stress as a result of a perilous shortage of maize.

The evidence indicates that one-fourth to three-fourths of the residents of the village emigrated before final village depopulation (Kuckelman 2007a). Block 100 man and other villagers, including numerous of his blood relatives, chose to stay. Included in those remaining in the village were some

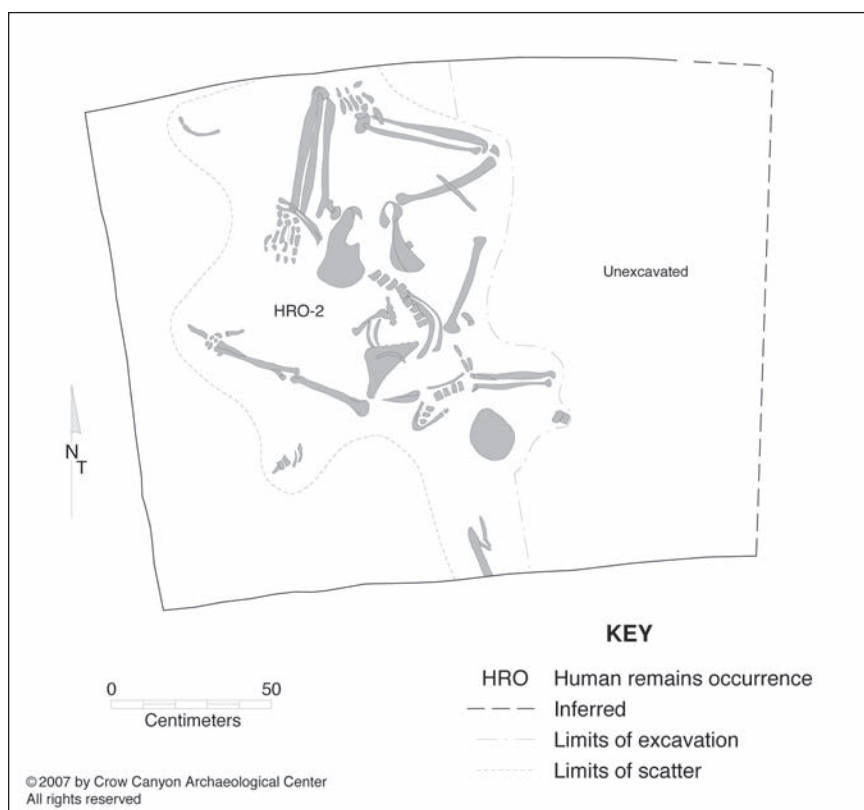
individuals whose immaturity, advanced age, frail health, ill health, or mental disability might have curtailed their ability to travel either long distances, short distances, or both. They attempted to outlast the environmental downturn by exploiting wild resources. Perhaps the healthier and hardier family members ranged widely in search of edible wild plants and animals that the villagers had not previously exploited, either because they were non-preferred or because procuring them required extensive, and possibly dangerous, travel outside the community.

At the time, Block 100 man was afflicted with either an unusually large abscess or cancer in his upper palate, which might have substantially compromised his health and ability to engage in subsistence activities. In addition, a healed depression fracture on his skull and similar fractures on skulls of other Sand Canyon residents attest to a history of conflict in the region before the events that resulted in the final depopulation of the village.

### **Final Depopulation of Sand Canyon Pueblo**

Sometime after A.D. 1277, Sand Canyon Pueblo was attacked, and Block 100 man, other members of his family, and numerous additional residents who were in the village at that time were killed. The location of a large depression fracture, spanning the left parietal and left frontal areas of Block 100 man's skull, indicates that the fatal blow was probably delivered in a face-to-face confrontation by a right-handed assailant. The position, location, and context of his remains suggest that Block 100 man was killed while on the roof of Room 105, along the massive village-enclosing wall, possibly in a defensive or lookout position. The evidence indicates that after he was struck, his body was dropped, probably feetfirst, through a roof hatchway and came to rest in a sprawled position on the floor (figure 6.3). His ability to defend himself and to protect members of his family against the attackers might have been diminished by the large abscess or cancer in his upper palate mentioned previously. Although there is evidence that the attackers remained in the village for a short time, this warfare event signifies the end of the Sand Canyon community. Many members of the community perished in the attack; however, others survived, including those who had already emigrated from the region and those who might have been away from the village during the attack.

Who killed Block 100 man and other residents of Sand Canyon Pueblo, and why did they attack the village? No projectile points, which might indicate cultural affiliation, were directly associated with the remains of any of the victims. Thus, the best evidence of the identity of the attackers is of the negative variety; that is, there is little evidence of the possible physical presence in the village of non-Pueblo people, which suggests that the attackers



**Figure 6.3.** The remains of Block 100 man on the floor of Room 105. Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

were Pueblo warriors. Evidence of a possible non-Pueblo presence consists of five projectile points classified as nonlocal that were found in late contexts at the site; any or all of these points might have originated from outside the central Mesa Verde region (Kuckelman 2007a, 2007b; Till 2007) and could have been used as weapons against the residents. Alternatively, the points could have arrived in the village by one of numerous peaceful means late in the occupation of the village.

Why the village at Sand Canyon was attacked cannot be determined for certain, of course. If residents in the region were experiencing acute subsistence stress, the most obvious motivation for attack would be to steal foodstuffs, although more complex and subtle social, economic, or political catalysts could have been operating as well. The attack might have been carefully planned so as to occur when those residents who were most likely to put up the greatest resistance—healthy adult males in their prime—were absent from the village.

## Migration of the Survivors

Possible destinations of the emigrants from this late Pueblo III community at Sand Canyon, perhaps including any surviving blood relatives of Block 100 man, are suggested by a comparison of congenital and developmental anomalies found on human remains at Sand Canyon with those on remains from Pueblo IV communities in New Mexico (Kuckelman and Martin 2007). For example, extra lambdoidal ossicles of the cranium were observed on the remains of Block 100 man and others at Sand Canyon Pueblo (Kuckelman and Martin 2007); a high frequency of this same condition is reported for assemblages of Pueblo IV remains from the Pajarito Plateau (Barnes 1994b:271–73) and Pecos Pueblo (Hooton 1930:96, 99). These and other shared congenital anomalies could indicate genetic links and thus migration streams from the Sand Canyon community to one or more of these later villages.

## CONCLUSION

This application of structure and agency theory adds texture and detail to the vast and complex mosaic of the Pueblo past, which included regional depopulation shortly after the onset of the Great Drought in A.D. 1276. This focused case study on the lives and events of residents of Sand Canyon Pueblo—and Block 100 man in particular—within a specific structural context flows from a perception of structure and agency that includes Hodder's (2000:25) notion that studies of agency should include lived experiences of individual bodies located in a particular time and place.

The application of agency theory to carefully examine the life, in its cultural context, of Block 100 man brings into sharp focus many circumstances and dynamics of ancient Pueblo society, and it facilitates examination of the cultural and environmental conditions both during, and in the years leading up to, the depopulation of the Mesa Verde region in the late thirteenth century. In particular, this case study enriches our understanding of the choices, actions, and events associated with acute subsistence stress, violence, and emigration from the region.

Agency theory focuses on agents as forces of sociocultural change. The decision making of individual agents clearly involves a myriad of institutionalized considerations and constraints. However, there is no doubt that agents, in choosing a particular course of action over other actions, can be affected by their external physical contexts, including ecological conditions such as the environmental challenges facing the Pueblo residents of the northern Southwest in the late A.D. 1200s. As Cowgill (2000:57) reminds us, some sociocultural change is in fact exogenous; that is, it results from outside influences

and conditions. Competition and conflict, as well as choices that individuals make about resources, are major sources of social change.

Agent-centered studies can enrich archaeology with their attention to variation and its meaning. This study reveals a great deal about both the choices that were made and the actions that were taken to realize the goals of the villagers of Sand Canyon, providing a particular account of the past and of culture change that more accurately reflects those who actually peopled the ancient Mesa Verde landscape than do sweeping normative reconstructions of social change. Embedded in this account are agent-based choices made in the face of subsistence stress and adverse conditions, and actions that enabled the community to survive intact in the short term.

Ultimately, although particular strings of choices proved fatal and the Sand Canyon community itself did not survive, other choices enabled some community members to overcome challenges and hardships and to migrate from the region. In all likelihood, similar choices and actions by individuals across the central Mesa Verde region were key to Pueblo migrations from the region and to the sweeping sociocultural changes that resulted from this pivotal moment in the prehistory of the Southwest.

## NOTES

1. Diversity is calculated by summing the number of taxa represented within a sample-type category and dividing that number by the total number of taxa represented in all sample-type categories.







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## PLACE AND LANDSCAPE



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## Action, Place, and Space in the Castle Rock Community

Scott G. Ortman

In the introductory chapter of *A Phenomenology of Landscape*, Christopher Tilley (1994:11–12) writes, “The key issue in any phenomenological approach is the manner in which people experience and understand the world. Phenomenology involves the understanding and description of things as they are experienced by a subject.” This emphasis on understanding the way subjects interpret and make sense of the situations in which they find themselves is critical, not only for the approach to landscape archaeology championed by Tilley, but for any attempt to understand social process in the past. Social life proceeds through the dialectic interplay of acting subjects and their immediate contexts. Individuals act on the basis of their experiences and understandings, but these are not wholly determined by raw somato-sensory stimuli (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997; Dobres and Robb 2005; Dornan 2002; Joyce and Lopiparo 2005; Sahlins 2003; Sewell 1992; Varien and Potter, this volume). Rather, individuals classify, analyze, and interpret these stimuli according to abstract schemas or models acquired through previous bodily experience and social learning. This means that if we hope to understand the dialectic interplay of structure and agency in the past, we need to pay attention to both the conceptual understandings of acting subjects and the local settings they experienced.

The *community* is an appropriate social and spatial scale for such analyses, especially when one is examining middle-range societies like the ancient Pueblos. Communities were the nexus of daily, face-to-face interaction in these societies, and these interactions continually reproduced structure, even as they provided a stage upon which individuals could reinforce, resist, or revise this structure through their actions (Adler 1994, 1998, 2002; Varien 1999,

2002; Varien and Potter, this volume). The people of ancient Pueblo societies also shared cognitive schemas that “imagined” what the community was and how it should ideally operate (Hegmon 2002; Isbell 2000; Varien and Potter, this volume), and archaeologists are making progress in reconstructing these schemas through careful attention to symbolic material culture and patterns of community organization (e.g., Ortman and Bradley 2002; Potter 2002; Potter and Ortman 2004; Preucel and Snead 1999). Finally, ancient Pueblo communities were strongly associated with *places*—loci of lived experience and social construction, where people made a concrete living and developed experiential understandings of nature, even as they materialized conceptual understandings of the social memory, identity, history, and the surrounding landscape (Basso 1996; Harvey 1996: Chapter 11; Potter 2004; Tilley 1994; Whitridge 2004). The experiences and understandings of individuals in these societies were thus indissolubly linked to the material and social characteristics of place-based communities.

Despite all these good reasons for community-scale analysis, it is important to recognize that community histories were driven by more than acting subjects in their immediate contexts. Place-based experiences and understandings were certainly the basis of action, but the local contexts individuals responded to were also influenced by regional socionatural forces that individuals may not have perceived or comprehended from their local vantage (Soja 2000:3–12).<sup>1</sup> Examples of these forces in the archaeological literature include low-frequency climate fluctuations (Dean 1988); long-term anthropogenic change in agricultural land, forests, and game (Kohler and Matthews 1988; Johnson et al. 2005; Minnis 1985; Redman 1999; Schollmeyer 2005; Varien et al. 2007); population growth and migration (Bellwood 2004; Renfrew 1987; Rouse 1986); “sunk-cost” effects (Janssen et al. 2003; Varien et al. 2007); and even widely shared metaphors that people use unconsciously to make sense of the world and reason about it (Ortman 2000b, 2008; Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2004; Tilley 1999). The point is that strategic action is necessarily based on perception and conception, and yet there is much about social life for which people had a dim awareness or an inaccurate understanding.

This loose fit between socionatural forces, perception, and conception influences strategic action in two ways. First, on a concrete level, regional-scale forces have local effects that people can perceive and respond to from their local vantage, even if they lack understanding of the forces themselves. Second, on a cognitive level, people develop abstract schemas to conceptualize and reason about these forces based on direct experience of their effects, information provided by others, and preconceived notions rooted in cultural tradition. These abstractions simplify a complex world to the point that

people can make inferences about courses of action, but as Marx, Foucault, and others have noted, these schemas always obfuscate certain factors even as they reveal others. We must therefore keep in mind that strategic action is often based on a partial or inaccurate understanding of the overall context in which individuals are situated, and as a result, strategic actions often have unintended consequences (Joyce 2004; Joyce and Lopiparo 2005). Because of this, a realistic understanding of social production, reproduction, and transformation requires an understanding of articulations between: (1) the perceptions and conceptions of strategic actors; (2) local, place-based conditions that impacted subjects; (3) regional socionatural forces that impacted local contexts.

In this chapter, I attempt to control for all three levels in a study of a specific ancestral Pueblo community in southwestern Colorado. More specifically, I examine the strategic actions made by leaders of the ill-fated Castle Rock community as they defined an innovative cultural landscape around the edges of their territory during a period of social conflict and migration. I will lean most heavily on archaeological evidence for an understanding of the regional and local contexts in which these actions occurred, and on a combination of archaeological, ethnographic, and linguistic evidence to reconstruct the perceptions and conceptions which shaped subjects' experiences and understandings of the local landscape. I hope to show that using the exceptional data available to southwestern archaeologists, we have the ability to investigate social production, reproduction, and transformation in prehispanic contexts at a level of understanding approaching that available in historic contexts (e.g., Campbell 2006; Johnson 1989; Leone 1984; Shanks and Tilley 1992:172–240).

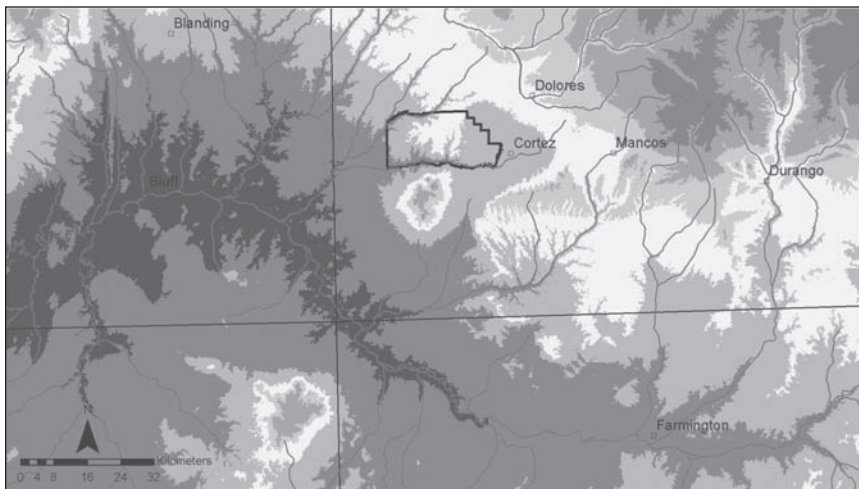
## **THE CASTLE ROCK COMMUNITY: SOCIONATURAL SETTING**

The archaeological remains of Castle Rock Pueblo and its associated community are situated in lower Sand Canyon, a unique and well-defined physiographic setting within the larger Mesa Verde region (figure 7.1). To the north is an egg-shaped uplift called McElmo Dome, and to the south, the laccolith known as Sleeping Ute Mountain. Running east to west in the eroded valley between these two features is McElmo Creek, one of the few seasonal streams in the region. In the vicinity of Castle Rock Pueblo, a combination of uplift and erosion has created several deep canyons that run north to south from the crest of McElmo Dome, at about 2,100 meters (7,000 feet) elevation, down to McElmo Creek, at about 1,800 meters (5,200 feet). These canyons reveal pink, red, and white rocks that are not exposed in the surrounding country.

Lower Sand Canyon is thus neatly defined as a low-lying area of red-rock canyons, with the slopes of Sleeping Ute Mountain rising to more than 2,800 meters (10,000 feet) on the southern horizon.

The geologic and geomorphic history of McElmo Dome (Force and Howell 1997; Ekren and Houser 1965) shaped human settlement and interaction in lower Sand Canyon. The uplands to the north are blanketed in deep eolian loess, which is sufficiently productive to support commercial rain-fed agriculture today and clearly supported substantial ancestral Pueblo agricultural production in the past (Van West 1994; Varien et al. 2007). Potable water is also available in these uplands, at seeps and springs, which occur along the canyon rims. The upper slopes of the south-flowing canyons, in contrast, are steep, dry, and unstable, and were of low utility for agriculture or settlement. The lower slopes, however, contain red-rock cliffs with seeps and alcoves, and flat benches with soils suitable for agriculture. Lower Sand Canyon is thus a circumscribed area of south-facing canyons with arable benches and side drainages bounded by unproductive talus slopes to the north, east, and west; the shady, high-elevation slopes of Ute Mountain to the south; and a narrow strip of arable land along the McElmo floodplain to the east and west. It is an oasis of arable land corresponding to an expanse of beautifully colored rock formations, a rare seasonal stream, and a high mountain that is visible for several days' walk in every direction.

Based on a recent retrodiction of agricultural potential that takes soils, elevation, slope, aspect, precipitation, temperature, and traditional Pueblo farming methods into account (Varien et al. 2007), it appears that during a



**Figure 7.1.** The McElmo Dome / Sand Canyon area in southwestern Colorado. Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

typical growing season, the McElmo Dome uplands to the north could produce about twice as many kilograms of maize per hectare as the benches of lower Sand Canyon. The McElmo Creek floodplain was also highly productive during periods where the stream was aggrading rather than entrenching (Force and Howell 1997), but this floodplain was narrow compared to the extensive upland farming areas. Perhaps due to these differences in overall agricultural potential, lower Sand Canyon was inhabited only sparsely and intermittently for most of ancestral Pueblo history in southwestern Colorado. In contrast, the uplands of McElmo Dome to the north supported large, stable populations (Lipe 1992a; Ortman and Varien 2007; Varien 1999).

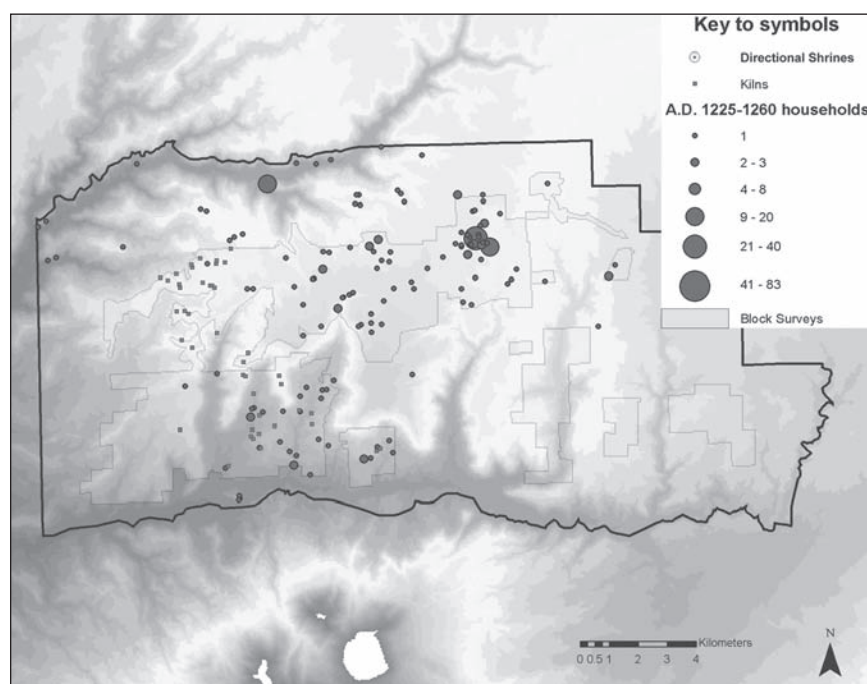
In the early A.D. 1200s, there was a period of unusually cold conditions, which would have made the south-facing benches of lower Sand Canyon relatively advantageous for farming compared to previous periods. At this same time, large numbers of people migrated into the central Mesa Verde region, raising regional population density to its highest level of the entire ancestral Pueblo sequence (Kohler et al. 2007; Varien et al. 2007). The likely source area of these migrants was to the west, in southeastern Utah, where a number of settlements oriented toward floodplain agriculture occur. The colder temperatures of this period may have had a disproportionate, negative impact on agricultural productivity in these areas, due to cold air drainage (see Peterson and Clay 1987). In addition, studies of the pottery deposited at contemporary sites on the southern piedmont of Ute Mountain indicate that many vessels came from the west, lending support to a western source for the immigrants into lower Sand Canyon (Errickson 1998; also see Glowacki 2006).

The immigrants arriving in southwestern Colorado in the early A.D. 1200s found most of the best agricultural land already claimed or in use by existing communities, and they were probably forced to settle in less than optimal areas (Varien et al. 2007: Figure 5E). In this context of land pressure in the uplands and shortened growing seasons in the canyon bottoms, the sparsely occupied benches of lower Sand Canyon probably appeared as one of the better available options for settlement. Accordingly, the population of lower Sand Canyon grew to around thirty-five households during this period of immigration and appears to have formed a definable community, which I will label the Castle Rock community, by the early A.D. 1200s (figure 7.2) (also see Ortman and Varien 2007). The households of this community lived in dispersed farmsteads, many of which were built against the bases of cliffs along the benches and side drainages of the area. Based on this settlement pattern, most of these households practiced dry farming on the benches and *ak-chin*, or runoff farming, along the side drainages. A few households also utilized the McElmo Creek floodplain. The cluster of residential sites defining this community was spread over an area of approximately twenty-five square kilometers.



The nearest neighbors of this new community lived on the uplands of McElmo Dome. A population of approximately forty-five households lived around the head of Sand Canyon and along Burro Point during the early A.D. 1200s. There was also a large village and an associated cluster of outlying settlements, totaling approximately ninety households, in the Goodman Point area, four kilometers east-northeast of upper Sand Canyon (Ortman and Varien 2007). It is interesting to note that despite having a much larger population, the Goodman Point community was spread over an area half as large as that encompassed by the Castle Rock community. This difference in population density is proportional to the average productivity of the uplands versus lower Sand Canyon. This suggests that farmers in lower Sand Canyon were forced to practice more land-extensive farming techniques than farmers in the uplands to obtain a comparable per capita crop. This ecological reality would prove to be a significant disadvantage in the years to come.

Social conditions in McElmo Dome deteriorated over the next few decades. Additional immigration into the uplands around the head of Sand Canyon led



**Figure 7.2.** The McElmo Dome / Sand Canyon area, A.D. 1225–1260. Note the dispersed population in lower Sand Canyon and the aggregated population at Goodman Point. Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

to the formation of Sand Canyon Pueblo, one of the largest villages ever built in the region, in the A.D. 1260s. The village was built rapidly, appears to have been centrally planned, and incorporates a number of defensive features in its architecture, including a continuous outer wall, which ran around three sides of the village, rose as high as 1.5 m, and was punctuated by two-story towers with peepholes, through which unwanted visitors could be spied on or shot at (Kuckelman 2007, this volume; Kuckelman et al. 2003; Ortman and Bradley 2002:70). With the construction of Sand Canyon Pueblo, the population of the upper Sand Canyon community grew to over 110 households, more than three times the population of the Castle Rock community. The population of the Goodman Point community, which also numbered over 100 households, also moved into a new, canyon-rim village at this time (Coffey and Kuckelman 2006; Lipe and Ortman 2000). As a result, the Castle Rock community became a minority population in an area dominated by two of the largest communities in the Mesa Verde region. During this same period, interregional exchange largely disappeared, isolating the Mesa Verde region from other centers of ancestral Pueblo culture (Lipe and Varien 1999), and migration streams that would eventually drain the entire ancestral Pueblo population from the Mesa Verde region formed (Duff 2000; Varien et al. 2007; Wilshusen 2002). As a result, Castle Rock community members found themselves confronted by the paradoxical forces of increasing population density in their local neighborhood, even as they became isolated from the outside world and the regional population began to decline.

## CASTLE ROCK PUEBLO

Coincident with these changes, about half the population of the Castle Rock community moved into a new central village constructed around a small butte adjacent to McElmo Creek (Kuckelman 2000a; Kuckelman 2000b). It is clear from the architecture and layout of Castle Rock Pueblo that defense was a central concern of its builders (figure 7.3). The village contained at least nine multistory towers, located at strategic points around its perimeter and built into the sides of the butte, and had structures of unknown height on top of the butte itself. The village was also surrounded by low walls of stone masonry, alignments of stacked rocks, and boulders, which would have impeded access to the habitation area (Kuckelman 2000c). Facades of stone masonry also filled cracks between boulders and spaces in the cliffs, as if to create the impression that the village was larger and stronger than it actually was. Finally, a cluster of houses was built against the north side of the butte, protecting the only access route to the top. This last feature is doubly significant

because these houses, situated with northern exposure, would have been in the shade all winter long, when the sun is low and to the south. For centuries nearly all ancestral Pueblo houses had been built with southern exposure to take advantage of passive solar heating during the winter months. The fact that these houses were built in this location indicates that protection was more important to their occupants than was winter warmth.

Despite this clear concern with safety, approximately half of the community population continued to live in small farmsteads dispersed across lower Sand Canyon after Castle Rock Pueblo was established (figure 7.4). Many of these houses occur in alcove settings with defensive walls, peepholes, and restricted access to living and storage areas. A system of towers was also constructed around the periphery of the community settlement area, including one on top of a boulder in East Rock Canyon to the northwest, a second on the cliff of the inner gorge of Sand Canyon to the north, and a third on a spur of rock jutting into the McElmo Creek floodplain to the east (see figure 7.4). The inhabitants of these dispersed settlements probably would have been safer from attack if they had also moved into Castle Rock Pueblo, but this may not have been feasible due to the land-extensive farming practices required in lower Sand Canyon. It may also have been necessary for the community to maintain a presence throughout its territory to protect growing crops in widely scattered fields (Johnson 2003). Either scenario suggests that the ecological characteristics of lower Sand Canyon counteracted the gravitational pull of a defensive village to a greater extent than was the case in the uplands to the north. In this way, the Castle Rock community was at a distinct disadvantage during this time of unrest.

It appears that Castle Rock community members were most concerned about defending themselves from other Pueblo people (Kuckelman et al. 2002; Lightfoot et al. 2001). The remains of several individuals encountered in the excavations at Castle Rock Pueblo had healed parry fractures and also healed, lozenge-shaped cranial-depression fractures in locations consistent with being struck on the head by the types of stone axes found throughout the region (Kuckelman et al. 2002: Table 3). In addition, a petroglyph scene depicting conflict was pecked into the south face of Castle Rock butte (Kuckelman 2000c), and the shields, bows and arrows, and headdresses depicted on the individuals involved are all documented in local material culture (Osborne 2004). This evidence suggests that the Castle Rock community population experienced actual episodes of violence in addition to real or perceived threats.

Castle Rock Pueblo was not only a place of refuge but also the social, economic, and ceremonial center of the lower Sand Canyon community. The village contained a plaza of cleared bedrock, defined by a circular arrangement of loosely spaced boulders on the south side of the butte, and possibly a

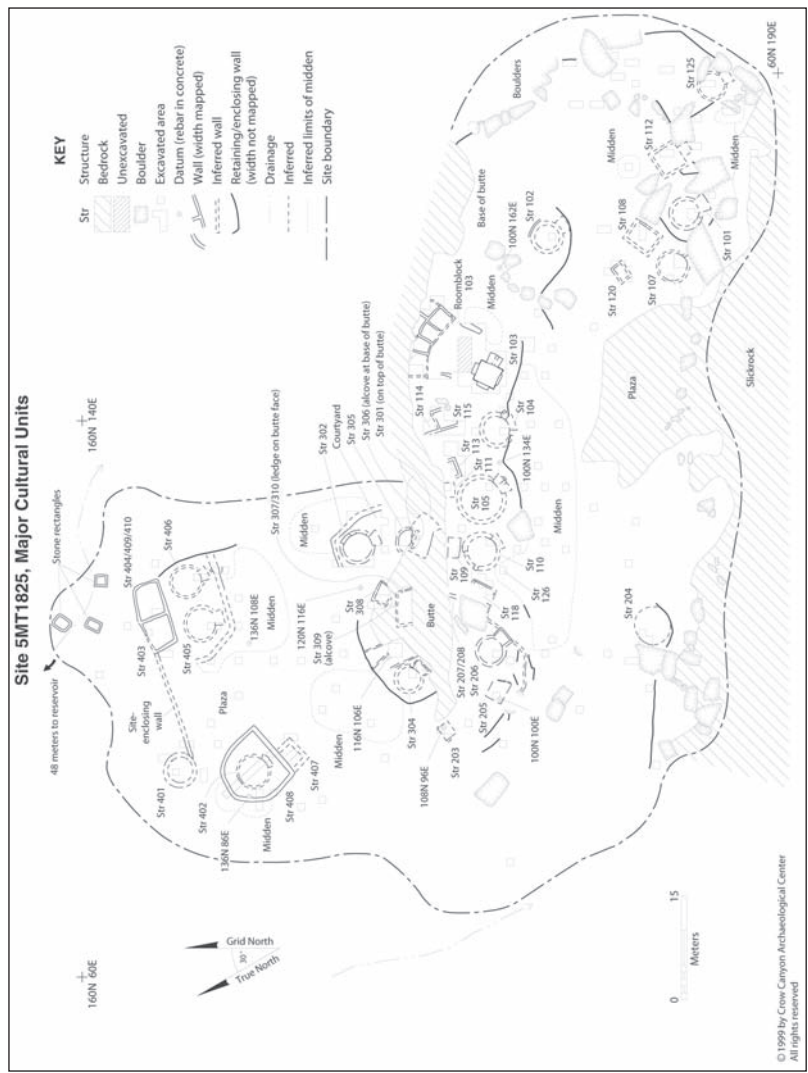


Figure 7.3. Castle Rock Pueblo, constructed in lower Sand Canyon between A.D. 1256 and 1277. Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

second plaza within the enclosing wall on the north side (Kuckelman 2000c). The inhabitants also dammed a natural drainage at the edge of a slickrock expanse adjacent to the village to create a reservoir. In addition to being closer to the village than McElmo Creek, the reservoir probably collected higher-quality drinking water, as the water in high-desert creeks is often alkaline and poor tasting. The common occurrence in hearth ash of shrubs that tolerate alkaline soils, including saltbush and greasewood, attests to this likelihood (Adams and Brown 2000).

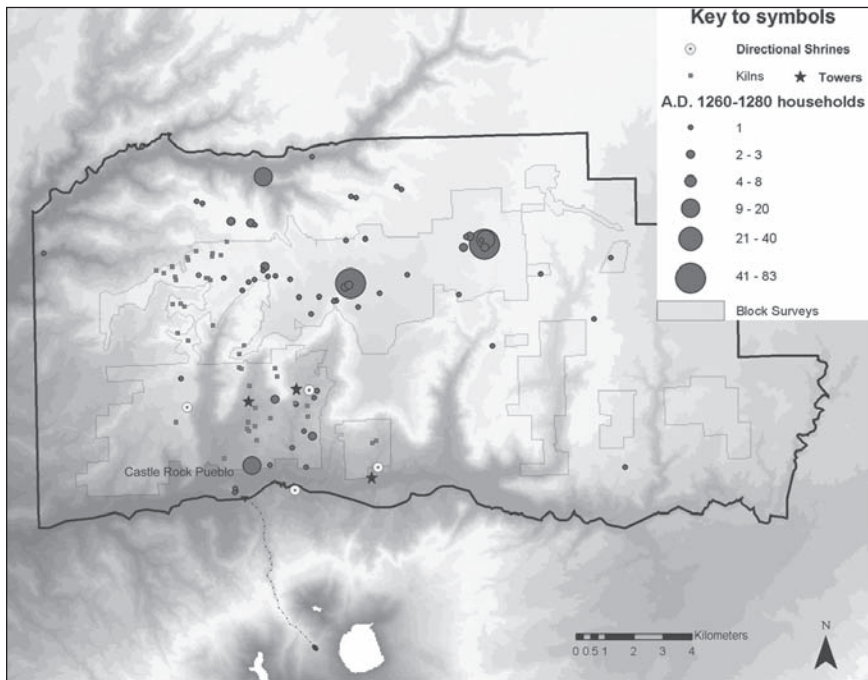
It appears that communal feasting also occurred at Castle Rock Pueblo. Painted designs are much more common on the exteriors of bowls from Castle Rock than they are on bowls from earlier sites in the area, suggesting that bowls were more often viewed from the side while being carried around the village than they had been previously (Ortman 2000a: para. 41–77). In addition, bowls from earlier sites come in a single size, medium, but bowls from Castle Rock Pueblo come in two sizes: a small size, suitable for an individual serving, and a large size, suitable for an entire batch of food (Ortman 2000b; para. 41–77). This suggests that patterns of food consumption changed from one where family-sized groups sat around a central, medium-sized bowl, to one where food was often served to larger groups in public view and was eaten individually out of small bowls. This latter consumption pattern is consistent with a model of regular potluck feasting (Blinman 1989).

## PLACEMAKING IN THE CASTLE ROCK COMMUNITY

As Castle Rock Pueblo took shape in lower Sand Canyon, a series of four C-shaped stone arrangements were constructed around the perimeter of the community settlement area. These features demarcated the community territory and defined a cultural landscape centered on Castle Rock Pueblo (figure 7.4). Each of these features is approximately five meters in diameter, and each is situated in a significant location, one that relates Castle Rock to the cardinal directions, the surrounding landscape, and prominent topographic features on the horizon. I have visited these features and recorded the location, form, associated artifacts, and view shed of each.

The north feature (5MT2796) is a circle of dry-laid, unshaped sandstone masonry on a knoll above the inner gorge of Sand Canyon, approximately four kilometers from Castle Rock (figure 7.5). An opening in the masonry looks directly toward the closest peak of Ute Mountain, which is visible due south, above the mesas on the near horizon.

The east feature lies on top of a low hill above McElmo Creek. It consists of a shallow, circular depression, with a concentration of stones and soil

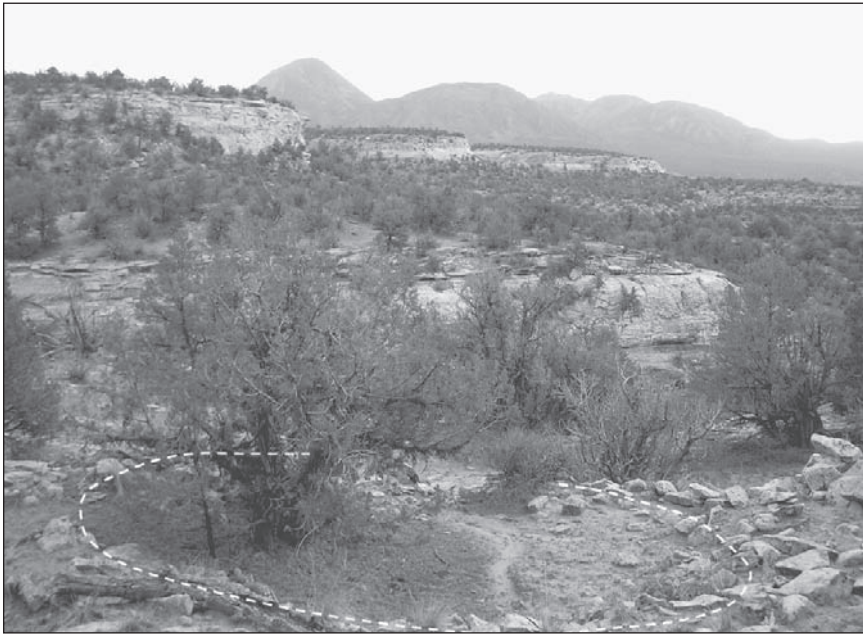


**Figure 7.4.** The McElmo Dome / Sand Canyon area, A.D. 1260–1280. The lake in the center of Ute Mountain (Phap'in, "Yucca Mountain," in Tewa) is depicted as an oval, and the Pine Creek drainage that connects the lake with McElmo Creek is depicted as a dash-dot line. Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

around its edge. There is a linear-trough opening that runs from the center of the depression out to its edge and directly toward Castle Rock butte, which is visible four kilometers due west from this location. Mesa Verde, which lies approximately thirty kilometers to the east, is also visible in the opposite direction, through the hills on the near horizon. Mesa Verde is not visible from Castle Rock Pueblo itself.

The south feature is located on top of a ridge where the northern slopes of Ute Mountain meet McElmo Creek. Its construction was similar to the east shrine, but this one has a more semicircular appearance. From this location, the peaks of the La Plata Mountains, approximately sixty kilometers to the northeast, are visible through a gap in the near horizon. This location also has a fine view of Ute Mountain, which rises due south. In addition, the feature opens directly toward Castle Rock butte, which is visible about two kilometers to the northwest. Again, the La Plata Mountains are not visible from Castle Rock Pueblo itself, but both are visible from this specific location.





**Figure 7.5.** The northern directional shrine in lower Sand Canyon (dashed line indicates outline). Ute Mountain is visible on the horizon due south of the opening. Small lakes exist in the center of Ute Mountain, behind the central and closest peak toward which the shrine opens. Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

Finally, the west feature (5MT15184) is located at the eastern edge of the mesa above Rock Creek. It consists of a semicircular arrangement of stacked, unshaped sandstone. This feature also has an opening that faces Castle Rock Pueblo, which is visible four kilometers to the southeast. From this location one also can also see the Bear's Ears—a prominent landmark approximately one hundred kilometers away—through a gap that provides a view of the distant horizon to the northwest. This topographic feature is not visible from Castle Rock Pueblo itself.

Several lines of evidence suggest that these four rock enclosures were shrines built by religious leaders of the Castle Rock community (table 7.1). First, their form is similar to symbolic features called *herraduras*, which have been documented in association with Chacoan roads constructed a few hundred years prior to Castle Rock Pueblo (Marshall 1997; Nials 1983, Nials et al. 1987; Till 2001). Second, no non-Pueblo artifacts have been found in association with these features, and the few sherds that have been found are all identical to the types found at Castle Rock Pueblo. Third, all four features are located on low ridges or hills that offer views of distant landforms behind

Table 7.1. Summary of Lower Sand Canyon Directional Shrines

Shrine	Location	Direction of opening	Opening faces	Visible landforms (Direction)	Construction	Degrees of a Circle	Artifacts
North	Mesita at junction of 2 drainages in Sand Canyon	South	Ute Mountain	Ute Mountain (S)	Dry-laid masonry	270	None
East	Hill at junction of side drainage and McElmo Creek	West	Castle Rock	Mesa Verde (E)	Dug-out, with stones and fill piled around edges	340	1 Mesa-Verde B/W bowl rim, 1 Mesa-Verde B/W ladle handle
South	Ridge overlooking McElmo Creek	Northwest	Castle Rock	Ute Mountain (S), La Platas (E)	Dug-out, with stones stacked around edges	200	None
West	Edge of mesa overlooking West Rock Canyon	Southeast	Castle Rock	Bear's Ears (NW)	Stacked rocks	210	1 Pill B/W bowl body, 7 Late White Unpainted olla body, 1 McElmo B/W canteen rim, 1 plain gray jar body



topographic breaks on the near horizon. Three have openings that face Castle Rock Pueblo with a line-of-sight view, one has a cardinal orientation with it, and three have cardinal orientations with respect to distant landforms. Based on these data, I infer that these circular stone features were shrines that related Castle Rock Pueblo to the cardinal directions and to prominent landmarks on the distant horizons.

### SHRINES, SCHEMAS, DISCOURSES, INSTITUTIONS

The shrine system created around the periphery of the Castle Rock community must have expressed important ideas about the surrounding landscape and the place of Castle Rock Pueblo within it. To gain some understanding of what these ideas were, a good initial step is to compare the Castle Rock system with ethnographic accounts of cultural landscapes in recent Pueblo societies. The basic cosmologies of several historic Pueblo groups—including the Hopi (Hieb 1979), Zuni (Tedlock 1979), Keres (White 1960; Preucel and Snead 1999), and Tewa (Ortiz 1969)—have been described by anthropologists. From an examination of these sources, it is clear that the Tewa world exhibits the closest parallels. The conceptual structure of the Tewa world, as described by Ortiz (1969:18–25) for Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo), places the village in the center, from which a series of shrines, low hills, and, finally, mountains radiated outward toward the cardinal points (figure 7.6). Ortiz further notes that a world-quarter shrine, consisting of a keyhole-shaped arrangement of stones with an opening facing inward, toward the village, adorns each cardinal mountaintop. These world-quarter shrines are spiritual-power conduits that gather blessings from the four directions and channel them back to the village through the opening.

In an unpublished manuscript, Ortiz (n.d.:8) indicates that the Tewa people also constructed directional shrines on the cardinal hills closer to villages. Archaeological evidence supports this claim and suggests that the practice had been going on for many centuries. The best-documented example is the system of four directional shrines identified on hills surrounding Poshuou-inge, a fourteenth-century Tewa village in the Chama River valley (Jeançon 1923:70–73). Shrines of similar form have been reported for ancestral sites of other Pueblo language groups, but these do not appear to be arranged with inward-facing openings, as occurs in Tewa directional shrine systems.<sup>2</sup> The close parallels in the shrine systems surrounding Ohkay Owingeh, Poshuou-inge, and Castle Rock Pueblo therefore make a strong case that the schemas, discourses, and practices attached to the Castle Rock system are directly ancestral to those maintained by historic Tewas.

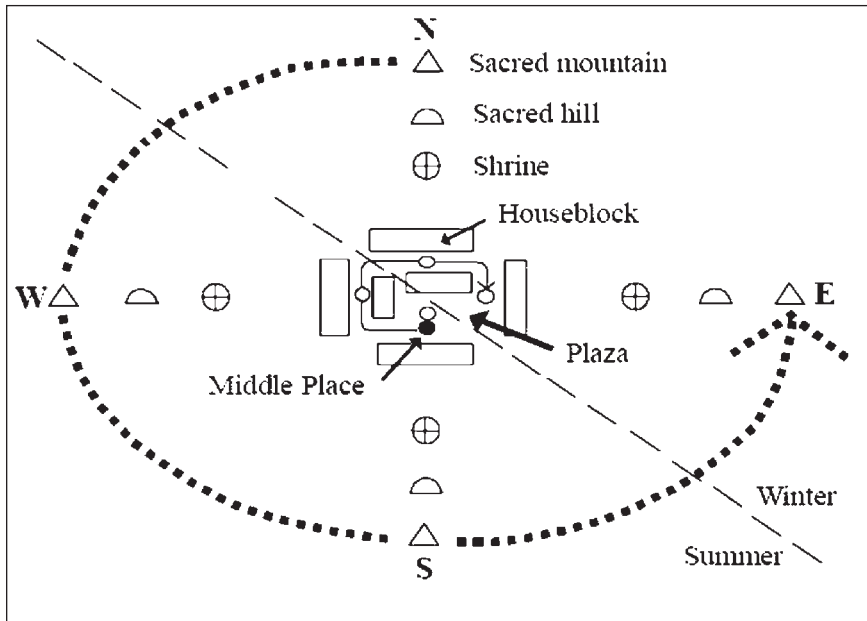


Figure 7.6. The landscape of Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo) (after Anschuetz et al. 2002). Courtesy of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

Several additional lines of evidence suggest a direct historical connection between the thirteenth-century ancestral Pueblo residents of southwestern Colorado and the Tewa people of New Mexico. First, archaeological evidence shows quite clearly that the population of northern New Mexico grew rapidly as southwestern Colorado was depopulated in the thirteenth century (Fowles 2004). Second, recent studies of biological variation provide strong evidence for an ancestor-descendant relationship between the thirteenth-century population of the Mesa Verde region and the fourteenth-century ancestral Tewa population of northern New Mexico (Ortman 2007). Third, Harrington (1916:564) recorded Tewa place names for Sleeping Ute Mountain (*Phaa p'in*, “Yucca Mountain”) and the Montezuma Valley (*Phaa p'innae'ahkongeh*, “Plain of the Yucca Mountain”) in southwestern Colorado, along with statements to the effect that ancestors of the Tewa lived in these areas in the past. Fourth, Jeançon (1925:39) independently recorded an oral tradition surrounding an ancestral Tewa ruin in southwestern Colorado. He subsequently identified the site that was the subject of this tradition on the eastern piedmont of Ute Mountain, fifteen kilometers southeast of Castle Rock. The site is known today as Yucca House, after its Tewa name. Fifth, Alfonso Ortiz (1969:148–49) comments: “Many Tewa

elders show a very detailed knowledge of the region north and northwest of San Juan into what is now southwestern Colorado. This is true even if they have never been there themselves . . . such detailed knowledge does lend credence to the Tewa's migration traditions and claims that they once occupied an area considerably to the north and northwest of where they are now." Finally, Jeançon recorded an explicit statement by Aniceto Swaso, a Tewa from Santa Clara Pueblo:

We were a long time coming down to this country; sometimes we stop long time in one place, but all the time is was still too cold for us to stay, so we come on. After while some people get to what you call Mesa Verde, in Colorado. . . . Then they began to get restless again and some go west on the San Juan River, some of them come by way of the Jicarilla Apache country, some come the other way by way of Cañon Largo, Gallinas, and the Chama (Jeançon 1923:75–76).

This range of evidence, from population histories, biological variation, shrine systems, place names, and oral tradition, suggests that ancestors of the present-day Tewa occupied the Mesa Verde region before migrating to their present territory in New Mexico. If this reconstruction is correct, a closer look at Tewa ethnographic and linguistic data should help us decipher some the concepts associated with the shrine system and landscape surrounding Castle Rock Pueblo.

A good place to begin is with a consideration of Tewa origin narratives. In the beginning, according to the testimony recorded by Ortiz (1969:13–15), the original hunt chief, winter chief, and summer chief sent twin boys, *towa'e*, to each of the cardinal points to scout out the world before the people were to emerge from the lake. These scouts climbed up a low hill in each direction, from where they could see a mountain in the distance, but they could not go any farther, because the ground was still soft. They threw clods of dirt to mark where they had been and then returned to the lake. When the people finally came out, the twin scouts of each direction went back to the cardinal hill each had visited previously. These beings are said to inhabit the cardinal hills today and to stand guard over the community, which still sits in the middle place. There are also living counterparts of the primordial chiefs and the *towa'e* in Tewa villages today. These men fulfill a number of ceremonial functions according to the social charter provided by the origin narrative. The four pairs of *towa'e*, for example, are "guard dogs" (Ortiz 1969:164) who stand at the cardinal points around the dancers during ceremonies. These narratives thus suggest that two purposes of directional shrines on the cardinal hills surrounding ancestral Tewa villages were to demarcate the community territory and to mark the locations where the *towa'e* first beheld the distant landforms that define the world's edge.

Descriptions of Tewa shrines suggest additional, spiritual functions for these features. The most detailed description of a functioning world-quarter shrine was provided by Douglass (1915:346–50), who recorded the shrine on *Tsikomo p'in*, the cardinal mountain of the West, in the early twentieth century. On the exact center of this mountain crest was a large cairn of stones that propped up an eight-foot spruce pole marking the “world-center.” The world-quarter shrine itself lay a short distance south of this feature. It consisted of a circular arrangement of stones, with stone-lined opening passages, called *kwänp'ô* (*kwän*, “rain,” + *p'ô*, “trail, path”), leading downhill to the east, toward several of the occupied Tewa pueblos. Inside the enclosure, on the western, closed side, Douglass observed a row of prayer sticks that also faced east. These were made from sticks (*p<sup>he</sup>*) of water-loving plants (willow or cottonwood), to which feathers were attached with cotton thread. One of the names for these sticks is *ók<sup>h</sup>üp<sup>he</sup>* (*ók<sup>h</sup>üwà*, “cloud-being,” + *p<sup>he</sup>* “stick”), which indicates that these sticks represent ancestral cloud-beings. To the east of this row of sticks was a canteen set on its side, with the mouth also facing east, toward the *nansipu*, or “earth-navel,” an earthen, bowl-shaped depression in the center of the enclosure.

The final element of this symbolic landscape was on the northeastern slope of the peak, about five hundred feet below the crest. A spring and pool exist at this location, which is also part of the the headwaters of the Rio del Oso, a drainage that empties into the Chama River, near Ohkay Owingeh. The spring and pool are viewed as the lake (*p'okwin*) from which Ohkay Owingeh ancestors emerged in the beginning, and the Rio del Oso is viewed as the pathway from this emergence place down to the current village (Richard Ford, personal communication, 2006). Although all the Tewa pueblos recognize *Tsikomo p'in* as the cardinal mountain of the west, the primary mountain and lake of other Tewa villages occur in the cardinal mountain closest to each village. The *p'okwin* of Tesuque Pueblo, for example, occurs near the top of Lake Peak, the cardinal mountain of the east, which lies immediately east of that village (Harrington 1916:348; Scully 1989:157–59).

To fully understand the richly metaphorical material culture and landscape of *Tsikomo p'in*, we need to delve more deeply into Tewa culture and language. Rina Swentzell, a Tewa woman from Santa Clara Pueblo, explains the significance of the cardinal mountains and shrines in the following way:

Those mountains not only defined the far boundaries of our world but also were where the primary drama of our lives—the growing of clouds and the bringing of that movement and water—was initiated. We continually watched those mountains to see the clouds form out of them and to know on which of their valleys or summits the sun would rise or set. Those mountains, or world boundaries, were far away and were the province of the men and boys who went

to visit the shrines there, and who would bring back the spirit and energies of the deer, bear, ram, and evergreen plants to blend with ours in the dances and ceremonies of the middle-heart place (Swentzell 1990:6).

Swentzell and other Tewa consider the mountains to be the province of males due to the following chain of reasoning. First, water originates in the mountains and comes down to the people and fields in the form of runoff from winter snows and as rain from clouds that “grow” over the mountains in the summer. Second, water and males are linked due to their parallel procreative roles: the semen released during intercourse causes babies to grow in mothers, just as the rain released from clouds causes maize kernels to germinate in the earth.

This metaphoric relationship between males and water is embedded in many Tewa words and concepts. The men in the religious hierarchy are known as *patowa*, “made-people” or “fish-people,” because they were created in the lake, before the Tewa emerged into this world. Tewa people also believe that the souls of the *patowa* become cloud-beings after death (Ortiz 1969:96), and this transformation is reflected in the close phonetic correspondence between *ok<sup>h</sup>úwá*, “cumulus cloud” (cf. *ok<sup>h</sup>u*, “down, fluff”), and *ók<sup>h</sup>úwà*, “cloud-being.” These two words are distinct, but the only phonetic detail that distinguishes them is the contour of their tonal accents, which actually reflect the movements of these entities. Clouds form high over the mountains and remain in the sky, whereas cloud-beings are spirits that leave the bodies of the deceased, travel up to the mountains, and then return to the village in the form of male impersonators in plaza ceremonies. Correspondingly, the word for “cumulus cloud” is characterized by high tone, and the word for “cloud-being” is characterized by rising and then falling tone. This same tonal pattern is also apparent in the related words for “trail,” “path,” “water,” and “stream.” The water in streams and rivers flows only downhill, and thus the word for “water” or “stream,” *p’o*, has low tone. In contrast, males, as the real-world counterparts of the cloud-beings, travel in both directions, along trails leading to and from the mountain shrines. Accordingly, the word for a “trail” or “path” is *p’ô*, with rising and then falling tone. In sum, clouds are always in the sky (high tone), and water always runs downhill (low tone), but both males and cloud-beings travel up and down between the village and the mountains (retroflex tone).<sup>3</sup> Finally, the relationship between water and males is implied by the bringing together of words for “rain” and “trail” (*kwänp’ô*, “rain-road”) to describe the stone-lined opening passages in world-quarter shrines, through which males travel when they enter or exit the enclosure.

These linguistic data make clear that in the Tewa conception, the movement of males to and from the mountains mirrors the desired action of ancestral

cloud-beings, who bring waters down from the mountains to the waiting fields of corn below. The equation of ancestors and water also clarifies why a drainage is imagined as the path followed by the ancestors traveling through time from *p'okwin* to the current village. Finally, these data clarify the specific concepts expressed by the world-quarter shrines. The prayer sticks facing east represent ancestral cloud-beings arranged in the same linear formation in which they appear in plaza dances. The canteen on its side represents a cloud emptying its waters toward the *nansipu*, "earth-navel," represented by the earthen depression in the center of the shrine and an upright stone in the center of the plaza in the village. The entire arrangement is thus a miniature representation of the intended action of the spirit world, which is reinforced by the actual movement of men along the "rain paths" that connect the mountain shrines and the Tewa villages.

The fact that Tewa landscape metaphors are embedded in the words of the Tewa language is important, not only for the light it sheds on Tewa culture, but also because it allows us to use historical linguistic methods to estimate the age of these concepts. Table 7.2 presents the relevant forms for "river," "road," "cloud," and "ancestor" in languages of the Kiowa-Tanoan family, to which Tewa belongs. An important event in the development of these languages occurred in A.D. 1696, when a group of Tewa speakers migrated from the Rio Grande to the Hopi mesas. Prior to this migration, Tewa speakers had formed a single speech community (Kroskrity 1993:57–63), but since this time, Arizona Tewa speakers have had limited contact with Rio Grande Tewa speakers. Thus, the concepts embedded in words that exist in both dialects must have existed in the Tewa speech community before it split into the Rio Grande and Arizona dialects. The data in table 7.2 show that the terms and tonal patterns that distinguish rivers from roads, and clouds from ancestral beings, are in fact shared in these two dialects, and therefore, that the associated concepts could not be younger than the seventeenth century.

Further examination of the data in table 7.2 reveals that although a Kiowa-Tanoan word for "cloud" can be reconstructed from these data, and there are words that suggest a relationship between ancestors and clouds in other languages, *ok<sup>h</sup>úwá*, "cumulus cloud," and *ók<sup>h</sup>ùwà*, "cloud-being," do not have cognates in other Kiowa-Tanoan languages. It is, therefore, likely that the specific concepts implied by these words were invented in, or adopted by, the Tewa speech community after Tewa became a distinct language. Otherwise, we would expect to find cognate forms in related languages. Note also that Kiowa-Tanoan forms for "water" and "road" are reconstructible and distinct, but the vowel in Rio Grande Tewa *p'ô*, "road, trail," deviates from the regular sound correspondences worked out for these languages by Davis (1989:368). Based on sound correspondences among large numbers of

words, the Tewa reflex of Kiowa-Tanoan *\*p'ɛo*, “road,” should be *p'æɛ*, but the actual form has the same vowel as *p'o*, “water, stream,” and differs from the latter word only in tonal accent. This in turn suggests that a conscious phonetic convergence, which made the word for “road” nearly identical to the word for “water, stream,” occurred after Tewa became distinct from other Kiowa-Tanoan languages. This suggests that metaphors linking males and water also developed after Tewa became distinct from these languages. Trager (1967:340) estimated that this event occurred some time between A.D. 1050 and 1150.

The data in table 7.2 provide evidence that the concepts expressed in Tewa cultural landscapes originated some time after A.D. 1050 and prior to A.D. 1700. The archaeological data from Rio Grande Tewa sites like Poshuouinge suggest these concepts developed well prior to A.D. 1700, and additional evidence suggests these concepts actually developed in the Mesa Verde region. First, the settings, locations, and view sheds of the directional shrines in lower Sand Canyon clearly replicate the pattern found at Poshuouinge and Ohkay Owingeh, and likely materialized the same concepts. Second, a variety of evidence suggests that the Castle Rock community included individuals who performed the duties of the *towa'e*, standing guard over the community spiritually and physically. For example, the locations of directional shrines and tower structures correspond to the northern, western, and eastern boundaries of the Castle Rock community (figure 7.4). These towers would have been useful as boundary markers and for monitoring the countryside, and thus performed the same real-world functions that the directional shrines performed in the spirit world. Also, it appears that the directional shrines were constructed by different individuals, as would have occurred if the directional scouts were responsible for creating them, because the portion of a circle encompassed by each is unique, and three different construction styles are apparent (table 7.1).

Third, constructed roads, trails, and footpaths dating to the ancestral Pueblo occupation have been preserved and recorded around two Mesa Verde region communities, in the Lowry and Goodman Point areas, and these trails connect habitation areas to springs, constructed reservoirs, and significant kivas or great kivas that likely represented lakes (Ferguson and Rohn 1987:41; Hovezak et al. 2004:37). Trail systems like these provided an experiential basis for the metaphors linking streams and trails that are embedded in Tewa language and culture today. Finally, an important parallel between Tewa cultural landscapes and the landscape of lower Sand Canyon is that at least two small spring-fed lakes exist in the center of Ute Mountain, due south of the peak addressed by two of the directional shrines around Castle Rock Pueblo (figure 7.4). The existence of the lakes may explain why the directional shrines address this secondary peak

Table 7.2. Kiowa-Tanoan Terms Related to Tewa Placemaking

Rio Grande Tewa	Arizona Tewa	Taos	Isleta	Jemez	Kiowa	Kiowa-Tanoan
<i>p'ó</i> : "water, stream, river"	<i>p'ó</i> "water" <i>p'ómæn</i> "river"	<i>p'ó'óne</i> "water"	<i>p'a</i> "water"	<i>p'áé</i> "water"	<i>p'a</i> "river"	<i>*p'ó</i> "water"
<i>p'ómæn</i> "running water"						
<i>p'ó</i> : "road, trail" (should be <i>p'áé</i> )	<i>p'ó'lo</i> "road"	<i>p'íçna</i> "road"	<i>p'ç</i> "road"	<i>p'ó</i> : "road, drum"	<i>hü'an</i> "road, trail"	<i>*p'çq</i> "road, trail"
<i>ók'úwá</i> "cloud" ( <i>'ók'u</i> "down, fluff")	<i>'ókúwá</i> "cloud"	<i>p'čéna</i> "cloud" <i>túlp'è</i> "rain-cloud"	<i>fí</i> "to be cloudy"	<i>óç'çé</i> "thin clouds" <i>wáçæ</i> "cloud, skin"	<i>p'á-n</i> "sky, cloud" <i>sep-p'áan</i> "rain-cloud"	<i>*p'ç</i> "cloud"
<i>ók'úwá</i> "spirit, cloud-being"	<i>'ókhuwa</i> "kachina"	<i>tatsíçonem</i> "thunder-men" ( <i>tá-</i> "tobbacco" + <i>tsía</i> "talk" + <i>sčonemá</i> "man, male, human")	<i>k'ápiawide</i> "ancestor" <i>k'ápiaw</i> "to be cold" <i>piaw</i> "dead" <i>wçide</i> "spirit" <i>waide</i> "soul"	<i>t'asa</i> "cloud-people" <i>k'ats'ana</i> "kachina"	<i>k'ómto-k'ia</i> "spirit man, ghost"	

Sources:

Rio Grande Tewa: Harrington 1916, Martínez 1982; Arizona Tewa: Kroskrity 1993; Taos: George L. Trager Papers, University of California, Irvine; Isleta: Frantz and Gardner 1995; Jemez: Hale 1962, Yumitani 1998; Kiowa: Harrington 1928; Correspondences for reconstructions: Davis 1989; Hale 1967; Whorf and Trager 1932.



rather than the tallest peak of Ute Mountain. Perhaps they are opening toward the lakes rather than toward the peak. Also, the drainage that originates in these lakes, known today as Pine Creek, travels down from the mountain and empties into McElmo Creek in the area of Castle Rock Pueblo, just as the Rio del Oso travels down from the *p'okwin* on *Tsikomo p'in* to Ohkay Owingeh. These features of the environment surrounding Castle Rock Pueblo exactly mirror those of the contemporary Tewa environment and would have provided the experiential basis for developing landscape concepts that have characterized Tewa culture to this day. The peaks of Ute Mountain have not been surveyed, so we don't yet know whether one or more world-quarter shrines adorned these peaks in the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, the range of evidence presented here makes it reasonable to infer that Ute Mountain (*Phaa p'in* in Tewa) was a cardinal mountain for many ancestral Pueblo communities in the Mesa Verde region, and was also probably the primary mountain of the Sand Canyon, Goodman Point, and Castle Rock communities.

## ACTION, CONCEPTION, PERCEPTION, CONSEQUENCES

The evidence presented in the previous section suggests that the shrine system and defensive fortifications of the Castle Rock community were created through the actions of community leaders. The authority of these leaders was likely supported by narratives that claimed these positions had been established at the beginning of time, before people entered this world. In creating a system of directional shrines around the periphery of the community's lands, these leaders did not merely define their territory; they also set up Castle Rock Pueblo as the middle place in the center of a world bounded by cardinal hills and mountains, a place that was tangibly connected to the mountain lake of emergence via Pine Creek, and a place where ancestral cloud-beings brought rain down from the mountains to fertilize the crops.

Directional shrine systems like the one identified around Castle Rock Pueblo do not occur around all thirteenth-century villages in the Mesa Verde region, but an additional directional shrine is known to exist on a hill southeast of Jackson's Hovenweep Castle, a village constructed on the floodplain of Yellow Jacket Canyon, ten kilometers northwest of Castle Rock. As in the case of the Castle Rock directional shrines, this hilltop offers a direct view of the village to the northwest and a fine view of Ute Mountain, which rises above the canyon rim on the near horizon, to the southeast.

Other types of round, stacked-rock features are also common at thirteenth-century Mesa Verde region villages (Fetterman and Honeycutt 1987:107; Rohn 1977:113), and these features occur in the same range of locations

and with the same orientations as the *nansipus*, or “earth-navel” shrines, around ancestral Tewa villages in the Rio Grande (Hewett 1938:55; Jeançon 1923:70–72; Nelson 1914:70–71; Ortiz, n.d.:8; Wendorf 1953:53). At Yellow Jacket Pueblo, for example, a shrine occurs on the east edge of the mesa on which the village lies, and it opens outward and due east, toward the rising sun (Ferguson and Rohn 1987:129). At the Hedley Main Ruin, there is also a 5 m diameter, cross-shaped enclosure, with the arms oriented toward the cardinal directions, on a knoll west of the village (Ortman and Wilshusen 1996: Figure 8). Finally, at Sand Canyon Pueblo there is a 5 m diameter, circular shrine on top of the hill due south of the village, from which location one has a panoramic view of distant landforms.

This evidence suggests that shrines in all directions relating villages to the cardinal directions and landforms were common around thirteenth-century villages in the Mesa Verde region, but that directional shrines may have been constructed only around low-lying villages that had restricted views of these landforms. In addition, C-shaped shrines are not known to occur in the vicinity of villages occupied prior to the thirteenth century, and the shrines associated with thirteenth-century villages vary in their form and arrangement. This suggests that the practices, beliefs, and discourses associated with the directional shrines around Castle Rock Pueblo were relatively new and not yet standardized in the thirteenth century. This raises the question of where the inspiration for these new beliefs, practices, and discourses came from. I suggest here that the ideas originated in the prototypical middle-place: Chaco Canyon, in northwestern New Mexico.

Between A.D. 1000 and 1150, Chaco Canyon, with its monumental architecture, extravagant use of resources, and evidence of pilgrimage, was the primate center of the Pueblo world, from which all subsequent conceptions of the middle-place probably derived (Lekson 2006). As discussed by Ryan in chapter 4, the Mesa Verde region likely participated in the Chaco Phenomenon, as a number of “outlier” great houses were built in this region during the heyday of Chaco (Cameron 2005; Lipe 2006; Varien et al. 1996; Varien et al. 2007). In addition, shrines similar to those constructed around Castle Rock Pueblo were built in association with roads emanating from Chaco Canyon (Marshall 1997; Nials 1983, Nials et al. 1987; Till 2001), as well as in Chaco Canyon itself, on bluffs overlooking the canyon, in which great houses and great kivas occur (Hayes and Windes 1975; Windes 1978).

Although Chaco Canyon was no longer a regional center by the mid-A.D. 1200s, when Castle Rock Pueblo was built, people in lower Sand Canyon would have known about it through oral tradition, hearsay, and possibly first-hand accounts of people who had visited the ruins. Lekson (1999) and Ryan (this volume) suggest that Chacoan ideas continued to influence the Mesa

Verde region long after Chaco Canyon ceased to function as the center of a regional system. Bradley (1996) takes this idea even further, arguing from the echoes of Chacoan architecture in canyon-rim villages and the reuse of outlier great houses that a revitalization movement swept the Mesa Verde region during the final decades of Pueblo occupation. The use of circular, dry-laid stone enclosures may be an additional line of evidence supporting this view. If so, we might view the directional shrine systems as a strategic appropriation of Chacoan notions of the middle-place for application to the physiographic context of low-lying villages along canyon floodplains. In this model, Castle Rock community leaders creatively and strategically appropriated beliefs, practices, and discourses of the middle-place associated with the legendary Chaco Canyon and mapped them onto the Castle Rock community in McElmo Canyon. Based on Tewa belief, we can also infer that the inward-facing shrines, which gathered blessings from the distant mountains and directed them inward and downward to Castle Rock Pueblo, contributed to a discourse promoting perseverance, despite all the troubling conditions the community was experiencing.

A key point, however, is that the inhabitants of adjacent communities may not have viewed these actions so favorably. Lower Sand Canyon had not been heavily settled prior to the mid-thirteenth century and was thus a reasonable place for an immigrant group to settle. Lower Sand Canyon also presented a natural middle-place due to its physiography, which echoed that of the legendary Chaco Canyon and was therefore a beautiful and meaningful place to become attached to. However, lower Sand Canyon was also sandwiched between several of the largest communities in the region and their principal cardinal mountain. Given the likelihood that Tewa conceptions surrounding cardinal mountains, males, water, and ancestral cloud-beings were already present in thirteenth-century Mesa Verde culture, it is reasonable to infer that religious leaders of Sand Canyon, Goodman Point, and other communities would have desired to make pilgrimages to the lakes in the center of Ute Mountain to supplicate the ancestral cloud-beings that brought rain to their fields. Yet, by fortifying their community, and by demarcating their territory using directional shrines and towers, the inhabitants of lower Sand Canyon signaled that they were hostile to outsiders travelling through their territory to access Ute Mountain.

There is in fact tangible evidence that the construction of Castle Rock Pueblo led to reduced access of McElmo Dome populations to Ute Mountain. Distinctive igneous rock from this mountain was one of the materials added to clay to make pottery vessels less prone to cracking during the production process (Ortman 2000a; Pierce et al. 2002; Till and Ortman 2007). The relative abundance of sherds tempered with this rock thus reflects the degree to

**Table 7.3. Igneous Temper from Ute Mountain in Pottery Bowl Assemblages**

Site Location <sup>1</sup>	A.D. 1225–1260	A.D. 1260–1280
Lower Sand Canyon	36.8 <sup>2</sup> (N=19) <sup>a</sup>	32.7 (N=49) <sup>b</sup>
McElmo Dome	36.9 (N=287) <sup>c</sup>	10.0 (N=320) <sup>d</sup>

## Notes:

1. Sites included in each cell of the table are: (a) Saddlehorn Hamlet (5MT262); (b) Castle Rock Pueblo (5MT1825); (c) Sand Canyon Pueblo (5MT765), Shields Pueblo (5MT3807), Lookout House (5MT10459), Troy's Tower (5MT3951); (d) Sand Canyon Pueblo (5MT765), Lester's Site (5MT10246).
2. Data are percents of analyzed sherds (vessels) in which igneous rock from Ute Mountain was the primary nonplastic inclusion added to the paste during manufacture. Chi-square  $P < .005$  for these data. N equals the total number of sherds in each sample.

which potters accessed Ute Mountain, or acquired the wares of potters who did. Table 7.3 tabulates the percentage of serving bowls tempered with this material at sites on McElmo Dome and in Lower Sand Canyon before and after the construction of Castle Rock Pueblo (data drawn from the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center research database). These data show that between A.D. 1225 and 1260, inhabitants of lower Sand Canyon and McElmo Dome either tempered the same proportion of their wares with this material or acquired equal proportions of such wares through trade. Inhabitants of lower Sand Canyon continued to obtain raw material or finished wares with the same frequency after the construction of Castle Rock Pueblo, around A.D. 1260, but McElmo Dome residents had much reduced access to the raw material or to the resulting wares after this date. Regardless of whether these data reflect reduced exchange or reduced access to the source, they indicate much less frequent movement of igneous rock from Ute Mountain through lower Sand Canyon and up to McElmo Dome than had occurred a generation earlier.

Now that we have an understanding of the ecological and social context of lower Sand Canyon and McElmo Dome; the concepts surrounding water, males, mountains, clouds, and ancestors that circulated in thirteenth-century Mesa Verde culture; the discourses on place and landscape that were developing at this time; and the archaeological data from the area, we are finally in a position to consider the impact of the strategic actions taken by leaders in the Castle Rock community. By marrying Chacoan notions of the middle-place to existing understandings of mountains, lakes, streams, and trails, Castle Rock community leaders promoted lower Sand Canyon as a worthwhile, even blessed, place to remain during a time of social instability. However, this discourse dramatically misrepresented the true situation facing the lower Sand Canyon community. Their village was not central, as Chaco Canyon had been in the past; it was actually in an area that was becoming increasingly isolated. This community had not actually occupied lower Sand Canyon since

the beginning of time; in fact, many of its people were recent arrivals to the area. Also, even though their home was exceptionally beautiful, it was not actually in a beneficial or safe location, as their lands were only about half as productive as those nearby, and they were under continuous, real threat of attack. Finally, although the placemaking discourses represented by the directional shrine system seemed to account quite well for the tangible experiences of community members in this particular place, these actions were probably interpreted by McElmo Dome residents as attempts to limit their access to Ute Mountain and the spiritual energies that flowed from it.

The decision to leave one's home for a poorly known destination, as many appear to have done starting in the A.D. 1260s, must have been difficult. It would mean leaving behind all the important things that root people to places: the accumulated local knowledge of nature, the spatial configuration of one's neighborhood, the sense of being at home in a familiar environment, and the tangible reminders of history and identity. For those in power, it would also likely mean the loss of a privileged position in society. Those with the most to lose are typically also the most resistant to change. In this context, many people in Castle Rock community probably found discourses promoting the status quo appealing. We do not know exactly why some people decided to stay, while others decided to leave, but we do know that Castle Rock Pueblo was a fully occupied village into the late A.D. 1270s, and that the decision of community members to remain in this specific place turned out to have fatal consequences. Many, if not all, community members, including the elderly, women, and children, were killed in a battle at Castle Rock some time after A.D. 1277 (Kuckelman 2000b; Kuckelman et al. 2002; Lightfoot et al. 2001), during a drought that was not exceptional in historical terms (Varien et al. 2007) but that clearly exacerbated already high social tensions. Remains of the victims were mutilated and then left untended, as though no one who cared was left to collect them for burial (Kuckelman et al. 2002). So even though the actions of Castle Rock community leaders made a lot of sense from their place-based vantage, it almost certainly would have turned out better for them if they had acted differently.

It is tempting to speculate that the onset of drought initiated a cultural logic that led to the destruction of the Castle Rock community. In a world where rain comes through the beneficence of ancestral males, droughts are caused by ancestors who are not behaving as the people wish them to. An appropriate response would be to make pilgrimages to mountain shrines and lakes, to encourage the ancestral cloud-beings to come back down again. From this point of view, the existence of a newly constructed community in lower Sand Canyon that blocked the easiest route of travel to the closest cardinal mountain could easily have been seen as an affront to inhabitants of

the older, larger, and more established McElmo Dome communities. These people may even have come to view the existence of Castle Rock Pueblo, at the foot of their primary cardinal mountain, as the cause of the drought itself. Perhaps, then, the attack on Castle Rock Pueblo was intended to remove this cause, to reopen the routes of communication between McElmo Dome and the ancestral cloud-beings in their mountain home, and to restore good relations with them.

Within a few years of the battle, there were no ancestral Pueblo people left in the Mesa Verde region. Although the people of Castle Rock Pueblo did not make it out, it is clear that many who did traveled to northern New Mexico and joined earlier immigrants in planting the seeds of modern Tewa society. The most striking aspect of this migration is that even though it appears the immigrants far outnumbered the existing population in northern New Mexico, the immigrants immediately began constructing pottery and buildings that had more in common with earlier Rio Grande material culture than with Mesa Verde material culture. The transformation appears to have involved an intentional turning away from nearly everything characteristic of the old society. In fact, the discontinuity in material practices that accompanied this migration has led some archaeologists to question whether a migration even occurred.

Given this situation, the fact that recently developed landscape concepts and placemaking practices like those materialized in lower Sand Canyon did make the trip, and continue to be maintained to the present day, is a testament to the persuasiveness of these new ideas. Although the discourses and practices that connected the Chacoan middle-place ideology to concepts surrounding mountains and men appear to have been developed to promote staying rather than leaving, these discourses and practices represent some of the few things, besides the Tewa language itself, that were not left behind. Perhaps one reason these new practices and concepts made the trip was because they were new and not representative of the old order that was being swept away. Another possibility is that these new concepts actually mapped onto the northern Rio Grande landscape—a large basin bounded by mountains on all sides, and with a river running through the center—better than they mapped onto the Mesa Verde region landscape. Perhaps the extent to which the northern Rio Grande landscape materialized the nascent middle-place imagery on a regional scale encouraged population movement in the first place.

## CONCLUSION

The details of the placemaking actions considered in this study, the local and regional contexts in which they occurred, the tragic fate of their perpe-

trators, and the role of these new ideas in transforming Mesa Verde society into historic Tewa society illustrate well the points raised at the beginning of this chapter. First, they show that strategic action is primarily responsive to local, place-based experience. In this particular case, it is clear that the actions of Castle Rock community leaders not only resonated with existing understandings in the historical consciousness of community members, but also accounted for details of the actual place to which they were applied. The specific spots chosen for shrine construction were natural topographic locations cardinally oriented to Castle Rock Pueblo or to a distant landform, and were also locations where distant landforms around the edges of the world were first seen as one traveled out and up from the pueblo. One could say that these locations provided physical evidence supporting the applicability of middle-place schemas to lower Sand Canyon. When viewed from above on a regional map, Castle Rock Pueblo is not actually central to the cardinal mountains referenced by the shrines. But from the perspective of a person on the ground, the shrine locations made a pretty good case. This suggests that there is more to social reproduction or transformation than social power, religious faith, political discourse, and historic resonance. Persuasive ideas also tend to do a good job accounting for direct experience in local places.

Second, the episode I have reviewed here illustrates that actions calculated on the basis of local, place-based experience can overlook the regional issues that confront people and can have different effects than the ones intended. The people of the Castle Rock community seem to have been keenly aware of some of these issues, such as their vulnerability as a small population practicing extensive agriculture on relatively marginal land. But at the same time, they do not appear to have recognized the impact their placemaking and place-claiming actions might have had on their neighbors to the north. These actions and discourses, which were based on overall understandings but biased toward local experience, did not adequately account for the regional context in which the community found itself, and thus led community members to make decisions that were clearly detrimental to their futures. It is highly unlikely that the goal of community leaders was destruction of their community, but this is what happened. Indeed, the false consciousness created by discourses associated with the directional shrine system, even if well intentioned, probably encouraged this outcome.

All of this reinforces the notion that we need to distinguish the structures of lived experience, which people respond to most directly in their actions, from the structures of regional socionatural forces, which people often ignore or miscomprehend even when they are aware of them, in our analyses of social change. In well-studied areas like the American Southwest, we have the data to perceive regional socionatural forces, including migration patterns,



climate, agricultural ecology, and human impacts on the environment, with much greater clarity than they were ever perceived or conceived by strategic actors in context. Even if these regional forces made a big difference in how things turned out, we cannot people the past with actors who understood these forces as we understand them today. Rather, we need to trace social processes back to their sources among acting subjects pursuing their goals, as they perceived and conceived them in local contexts.

Third, it would have been very difficult to understand what was going on when community leaders created the directional shrine system around Castle Rock Pueblo if we had not appealed to a variety of data and arguments that allowed us to get inside the heads of the people who were doing the strategizing. The interpretation of community history developed here depends just as heavily on reconstructions of concepts surrounding mountains, water, clouds, males, and ancestors as it does on reconstructions of settlement patterns, demography, agricultural potential, and climate. An approach that moves from ethnographic accounts of present-day schemas to evidence concerning historical relationships between present and past peoples, to comparative linguistic analysis to examine the antiquity and development of these concepts, and finally to material expressions of these concepts in specific times and places appears to have some promise as a method for reconstructing the understandings of acting subjects. In the absence of these sorts of inferences, it is hard to imagine how we might have come to any realistic understanding of what Castle Rock community leaders were trying to accomplish through their actions, and why these actions might have had a negative impact on relations with their neighbors. But by the same token, it is also hard to imagine that the innovative appropriation of Chacoan middle-place concepts reflected in the Castle Rock directional shrine system would have survived migration to the northern Rio Grande if Mesa Verde people had not moved to a place where these ideas mapped onto the actual landscape so well. This points out that the experiences of acting subjects result from the encounter of preexisting understandings with the empirical world, and we therefore need to consider both if we are to get to the bottom of why history worked out the way it did in any particular case.

Finally, the historical episode discussed here reinforces the view of post-processual archaeologists that there is unlikely to be a single explanation for the “why” questions of history, whether we are speaking of recent events or the distant past. Human societies consist of aware subjects, each acting from their own local vantage, and each interpreting the actions of others from this perspective. As a result, the spatial scale of societies will often be larger than the network of places within which human subjects perceive, conceive, act, and interpret. This dialectical relation between *place*, the community-scale of direct, lived experience and interpretation, and *space*, the regional-scale at



which aggregate human action and socionatural forces impact local places, necessarily leads to a variety of understandings as to what was going on among the people who created the archaeological sites we study. In my case study, for example, it is likely that the people of McElmo Dome interpreted the actions and discourses of Castle Rock community members differently than the people of lower Sand Canyon themselves. And if we were to interview people from these different places, we would surely get different answers as to what was going on. But the more fundamental point is that the subsequent course of events derived from this diversity of place-structured understandings. Because of this, archaeologists seeking to account for social transformations need to tack back and forth between the loci of lived experience in specific communities and regional contexts that generate socionatural forces, and need to identify this diversity of place-structured perspectives within a society, to gain some understanding of the raw material of change. Also, because acting subjects necessarily had different explanations for the events they witnessed or heard about, and yet these different explanations were the basis of subsequent action, we should not delude ourselves into thinking there is any single answer to be found when we study episodes of social change. All we can do is attempt to understand historical episodes from those vantages that are available to us.

## NOTES

1. The term *socionatural* is used in this essay to acknowledge that in accounts of social life, both social and environmental factors play a role in defining the broad contexts within which acting subjects were embedded. It also acknowledges that these contexts are normally defined through the interactions between social and natural phenomena (see Kohler and van der Leeuw 2007:10; van der Leeuw and Redman 2002).

2. Preucel and Snead (1999), for example, describe a C-shaped shrine located along a trail heading northward from the ancestral Keres site of Los Aguayes where the opening is to the east rather than to the south, toward the village itself.

3. Sound symbolism of other types has been known to exist in Tewa since Harrington's day (1910:16). For example, in a large number of Tewa terms, the front vowels *e* and *a* indicate smaller scale, whereas the back vowels *o* and *u* indicate larger scale (compare '*i pije*, "to this place," with *hae pije*, "to yonder place," and '*o pije*, "to that remote place"; *he'e*, "small groove, arroyito," and *hu'u*, "large groove, arroyo"; *p<sup>h</sup>igi*, "small and flat," and *p<sup>h</sup>agi*, "large and flat"; *be'e*, "small dell," and *bu'u*, "large dell"). These additional data show that the manner of articulation of vowels can reflect the horizontal scale of entities, in the same way that tone can be used to indicate the positions and movements of entities on a vertical axis.

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## History, Place, and Social Power in the Galisteo Basin, A.D. 1250–1325

*James E. Snead*

The ideas that I'll discuss in this chapter started to take shape in 2000, when I was working at a small masonry roomblock in the western Galisteo Basin of New Mexico. The site is just below the main architectural complex at Burnt Corn Pueblo, and I was teaching two students how to render a pile of rubble and a thin distribution of artifacts into a coherent sketch map. A jagged bit of bedrock protruded from the ground at the edge of the scatter, and one of its slanted facets showed signs of grinding. As we puzzled over this feature—too oblique to have been much good for grinding corn flour—I looked up and took in the view that the person grinding on that surface would also have experienced: an eastern horizon dominated first by a prominent rhyolite outcrop, Black Rock, 300 meters away, and then a prominent summit on the eastern horizon called Petroglyph Hill (figure 8.1). We quickly realized that the view had been integral to the process of grinding, and that what at first glance had been a small, functional component of a domestic complex was instead revealed to be a link in a participatory chain that connected the site with the locality and the broader region, reproducing an elaborate topography of meaning.<sup>1</sup>

If the eastern perspective from the roomblock was organized by the physical landscape, a more immediately human construction—Burnt Corn Pueblo itself—dominated the northern horizon. A glance in that direction at the end of the fourteenth century A.D. would have taken in an active, lived place with complex, human associations, just as meaningful in its own way as the view to the east. History, memory, genealogy—all of these things were Burnt Corn, particularly to those who called it home.

Hills and horizons may be permanent—from the brief perspective of a human life—but the built environment is much more changeable. Thus the vista



**Figure 8.1.** A view of Petroglyph Hill from Burnt Corn Pueblo.

of Burnt Corn as a lived place in A.D. 1300 would, by A.D. 1320, have been replaced by a view of charred wreckage. This vista of destruction would not have been empty of meaning, however, since as a “ruin,”<sup>2</sup> Burnt Corn Pueblo would have been a powerful statement. This contrast between the holistic serenity of shrines and ritualized topography and the desolation of a burned settlement is striking, highlighting a fundamental structure of the ancestral Pueblo world but also exposing a creeping misconception in the way that archaeologists working in the Southwest construe the idea of *landscape*.

## LANDSCAPE AS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

We have made great advances in our understanding of landscape as a conceptual framework, particularly the idea that the archaeological record must be treated as a complex whole, an approach based in empirical fieldwork, since surveys in the Southwestern countryside routinely document hundreds and even thousands of features that—at some level—we must account for (cf. Snead 2002). We’re also increasingly comfortable with landscape as an interpretive strategy. Space and place, manifest in both the “natural” and built environments, are understood as critical loci of cultural meaning. The tendency, however, is to view landscape in distinctly normative terms. We envision Native American worlds to be deeply layered in meaning, and quotations from

Keith Basso (1996) abound. From this perspective, the topography of the past is imagined as ordered and complete, if only it can be unlocked.

What we often fail to discuss is that the cultural and historical referents embodied within any landscape will not be universally shared by those living within it. Instead, alternative interpretations inevitably exist, and divergent meanings would have been an active source of competition within the populace. Landscape can never be a seamless narrative. It is easy to forget that the Western Apache landscape described by Basso has vigilant guardians, who maintain its meaning and use it to enforce codes of social conduct. Nonconformists are “shot” with stories and thereafter “stalked” by those tales and the places that embody them (Basso 1984:40). It is easy to imagine that this is a selective process, and that for different people, the landscape embodies stories of an entirely different nature. *Who* is shooting *whom* with *what* thus becomes an interesting process linked to identity and power within the context of the group.

To me, these circumstances rest uneasily with an exclusively phenomenological understanding of landscape. Fred Myers, for instance, notes that “[p]eople do not simply ‘experience’ the world; they are taught—indeed, disciplined—to signify their experiences in distinctive ways” (2000:77). Gidden’s theorization of *locale*—often overlooked in discussions of structuration—as “the setting of interaction . . . routinely drawn upon by social actors in the sustaining of communication” (1979:206–07) also points to landscape as “active” rather than “passive.” Potter and Yoder (chapter 2, this volume) and Ortman (chapter 7, this volume) examine how community, as a locale, was actively constructed during the early and late Pueblo periods in the northern San Juan region. The same processes characterize the locales where fourteenth-century communities in the Rio Grande were socially established.

It’s important to recognize that for most people, landscape *is* history.<sup>3</sup> Memory may be fugitive, but it gains greater permanence—becoming, from my perspective, the sort of tangible narrative that describes historical knowledge—when materialized in topography or architecture. This transformation is significant. “What people remember of the past,” writes Sue Alcock (2002:1), “fashions their sense of community and determines their allies, enemies and actions; they will argue over it and kill for it.” We can thus talk about “landscape as text” quite literally. If memory/history is in part contingent on its materialization (*sensu* De Marrais et al. 1996), then that process inevitably causes debate. Placemaking is less a consensual activity and more a political strategy for establishing historical precedents with sacred overtones.

We are thus pushed toward increasingly sophisticated understandings of ancestral Pueblo places as competitively constructed concepts rather than the product of some sort of cultural consensus. We must also expect, then, that

landscapes formed from such places are replete with contradiction, incongruity, and alternate narratives. We should thus seek archaeological evidence for the conscious manipulation of ideas of place, and we should expect that such competition ranged far up the scale into violence and destruction. The stakes were never trivial, since the success of a local community depended on establishing the fundamental legitimacy for the entire range of social action conferred by place.

### MAKING PLACES IN THE GALISTEO BASIN, A.D. 1250–1325

Concern for placemaking runs deep in Pueblo history. I'm struck by evidence for the patterned use of architecture during the Chaco period to reinforce social continuity over time (Van Dyke 2003). Case studies include the regular rebuilding of Bonito-phase kivas in Chaco Canyon attributed to "ritual renewal" (Crown and Wills 2003:526); episodic berm construction in great-house landscapes (Cameron 2002:681); the possible linkage of sites of different time periods by formal roads (Fowler et al. 1987; Fowler and Stein 1992; Roney 1992); and what has been called a "pattern of succession" in temporally discrete ritual landscapes (Fowler and Stein 2001:116). I also think it is likely that the modification and reuse of great houses in the immediate post-Chacoan era have a great deal to do with the symbolism of those localities, a point emphasized by Ryan (chapter 4, this volume). This process is perhaps echoed by the complex reoccupation and reorganization of sites in subsequent eras (Ortman chapter 7, this volume; Ortman and Bradley 2002). The concept of "community centers" developed by Mark Varien (Varien 1999) and colleagues (Lipe and Ortman 2000; Ortman et al. 2000)—pertinent to long-term use of particular places—has clear ramifications for the embodiment of history and identity in the landscape of the Colorado Plateau prior to A.D. 1300.

From my perspective, the ancestral Pueblo construction of landscape in the Río Grande region in the era following the great diaspora developed a distinct character that diverged from what went before, both locally and in the abandoned homeland. A number of recent studies (cf. Crown et al. 1996; Powers and Orcutt 1999) have documented the transformation of the Río Grande settlement system in the thirteenth century A.D., in which population expanded rapidly and networks of small houses were gradually replaced by clusters of larger pueblos. Rather than the great houses and other monumental constructions that characterized the Colorado Plateau, however, Río Grande society eventually centered on *community houses*: vast, rambling, aggregated complexes that were often modified, abandoned, and reoccupied over the course of centuries.

These community houses were emplaced within nested sets of shrines extending from the pueblo outward to the mountains defining the boundaries of the Río Grande world, a pattern that Ortman (chapter 7, this volume) also identifies at an earlier time in the northern San Juan region. Ethnography tells us that such places are historical and ideological metaphors, centers within centers, each mirroring the place of emergence (Ortiz 1969, 1979).

It is from these general patterns that the normative model for ancestral Pueblo landscapes has emerged, but there are nuances to the archaeological data that imply the existence of crosscurrents and alternative models. In some times and places, architecture and settlement patterns are notably heterogeneous, while at other times remarkable consistency is expressed. We are only beginning to explore the broader landscape for correlative patterns, but evidence for “difference” is mounting.

Settlement in the Galisteo Basin in the Late Coalition and Early Classic periods (A.D. 1250–1425) is an important case study for examining continuity and diversity in cultural landscapes. The catchment of the Río Galisteo just south of Santa Fe consists of open grasslands and wooded hillsides. In the early Pueblo era, settlement in the region appears to have focused on the pinon-juniper woodland, perhaps the most optimal environment for rainfall agriculture given the relatively low elevation of the basin as a whole. In any event, we think it was a relatively marginal place to live, at least in comparison with uplands like the Pajarito Plateau, which already had a substantial population during the early 1200s (Powers and Orcutt 1999:558). The scale of settlement was thus relatively modest.

This open character of the social landscape in the Galisteo changed dramatically following A.D. 1250, during what we define as the Pindi Phase (A.D. 1250–1300) (figure 8.2). There are more sites than in previous eras, and these are both more widespread and more diverse in plan. Dick Lang’s summary of Pindi Phase buildings in the Galisteo Basin includes isolated roomblocks, large, linear/L-shaped blocks, clusters of large/small roomblocks, and “massive” houseblocks with associated small outlying roomblocks (1977:24). Such diversity was short-lived, and by the mid-1300s, the community house pattern—clusters of roomblocks around multiple plazas, evident at such prominent sites as San Marcos and San Cristobal—had become ubiquitous throughout the region.

Explanations for the heterogeneous character of Pindi Phase landscapes have proven elusive, in part because most of the work was done prior to 1950, providing few good site plans and provenienced tree-ring dates. Local surveys are almost entirely absent, making it difficult to contextualize even the limited information available. Archaeological preoccupation with the large, late sites, and the fact that many of the earlier sites are on private land with limited access, compounds the problem.

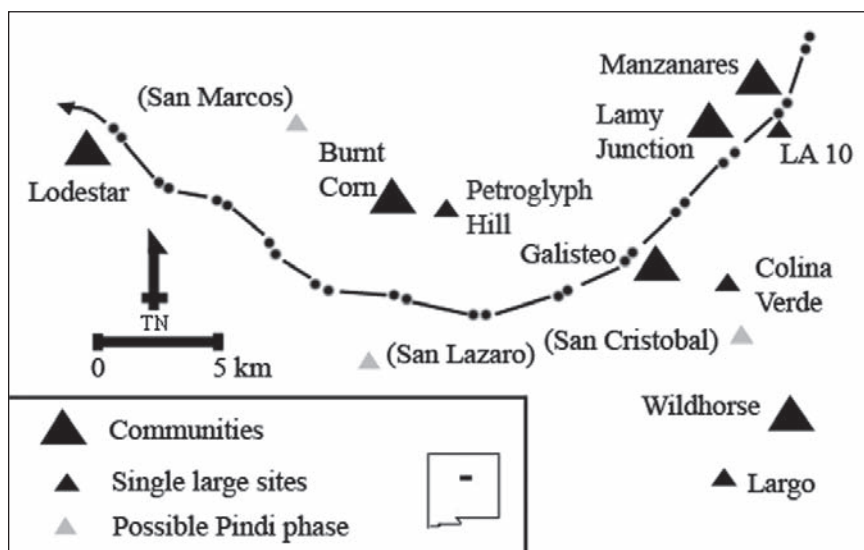


Figure 8.2. Map showing the Pindi Phase sites in the northern Galisteo Basin.



Figure 8.3. Photograph of LA 27, Lamy Pueblo, view to the northwest.



Nonetheless, some useful information is available, and to me, some of the Pindi Phase sites reflect a sensibility that echoes the Colorado Plateau landscape canon. This consists, in particular, of massed architectural groupings on low summits. Galisteo sites with these characteristics include Pueblo Largo (LA 183), where a plaza-style structure sits on the edge of a high escarpment; Colina Verde (LA 309), a masonry complex built on a low hill emerging from a relatively flat plain; and Lamy (LA 27), also located on a low rise and a comparatively massive construction at the center of a community of much more humble roomblocks (figure 8.3). All of these sites are, as Steve Lekson (2000:158) would say, “big bumps,” designed to catch the eye and stand out from surrounding landscape.

Burnt Corn Pueblo resembles these sites in many respects and offers a more detailed case study in ancestral Pueblo placemaking during the Pindi phase. The site itself consists of a group of eight adobe-masonry roomblocks and one plaza pueblo built atop a ridge overlooking agricultural land along the seasonal Cañada de la Cueva. Tree-ring dates from the pueblo span the years from A.D. 1290 through 1302 (figure 8.4). The surrounding community includes many small “farmsteads” as well as shrines, field houses, and activity areas.

Burnt Corn’s location has obvious defensive aspects, as do those of some of the other Pindi Phase sites in the Galisteo. Yet while most of the ridge tops along the Cañada de la Cueva provide similar strategic placement, few offer advantageous placement relative to other topographic features, such as the easterly alignment through Black Rock to Petroglyph Hill. The people who selected the site for Burnt Corn were concerned about their neighbors, and this awareness was expressed in ways that integrated pragmatics with symbolism.

The central position in the Burnt Corn built environment is held by the plaza pueblo, which is both the most substantial architecture present and the final stage of construction at the site. Standing high on the toe of the ridge, this massive building would have been visible for miles. It’s often argued that plaza pueblos mark the initial phase of building within Río Grande communities, reflecting the “footprint” of cohesive social groups (e.g., Powers and Orcutt 1999:564). This probably did take place at some locations, such as Arroyo Hondo (cf. Creamer 1993:150), and the Burnt Corn plaza pueblo was begun early in the sequence. Additions to the structure also represent the last known construction at the site, so it clearly was a focus of activity throughout the occupation. It stood, distinct among the smaller contemporary structures along the ridge, as a landmark, a tangible representation of the community that might have stirred cultural responses similar to those evoked by great houses.



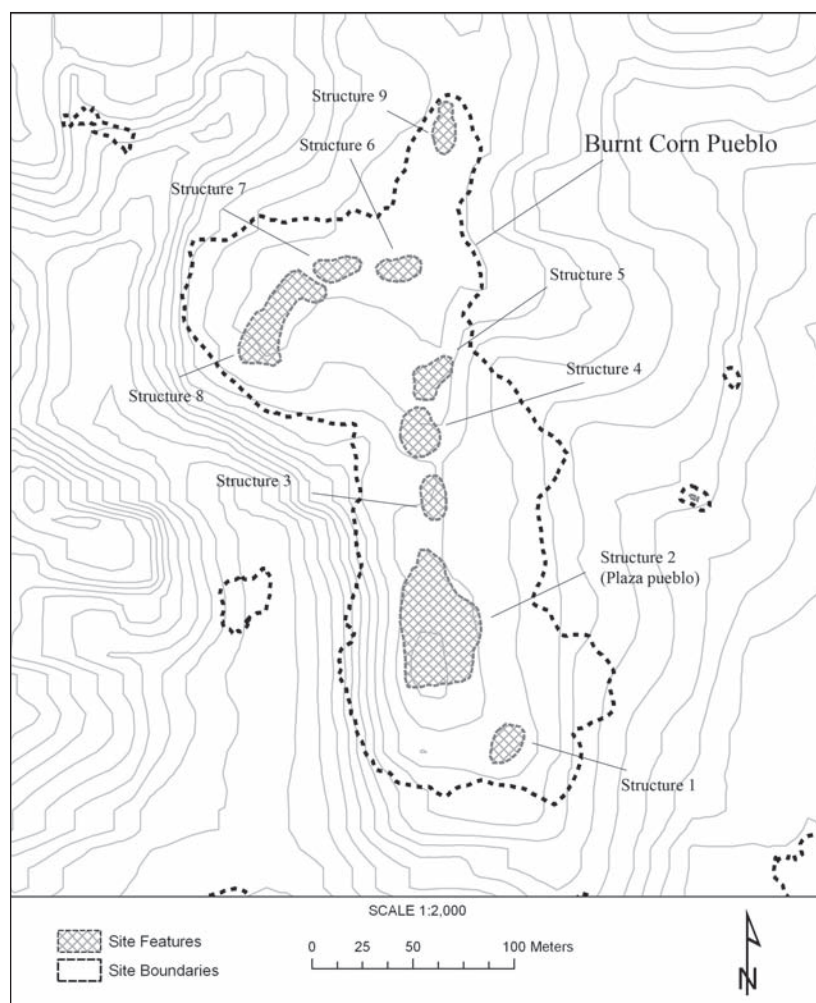


Figure 8.4. GIS Map of Burnt Corn Pueblo, LA 359 (original by G. Greene).

Not all Pindi Phase sites in the Galisteo share such overtly “monumental” characteristics. The important site of Manzanares, for instance, is a largely adobe complex sitting low on a terrace adjacent to the Río Galisteo, a near-exact contemporary of Burnt Corn, with which it has few other similarities (Steen 1980). Small clusters of roomblocks, such as at the Waldo and Lodestar sites (Allen 2006; Hammack 1971), are also hard to square with the formal approach to space represented by Burnt Corn. It is likely that—at least in the latter case—some differences can be attributed to the presence

of settlement hierarchies, with smaller farmsteads predominant in the hinterlands away from larger centers. Manzanares, however, is a bigger settlement than Burnt Corn, so differences in spatial organization are not entirely matters of scale and function.

We will keep looking for similarities between the use of architecture at places like Burnt Corn and the Colorado Plateau, but at this stage it is impossible to know whether this congruence—if real—is an example of emulation (cf. Lekson 2000:160) or an indication of the presence of a migrant population. In comparison with the Colorado Plateau, the thirteenth-century Galisteo presents a relatively impoverished symbolic landscape, perhaps due to the shallow history of settlement.

It is thus clear that competition within Galisteo society was manifested in different modes of landscape organization, reflecting different expressions of place, with roots in distinct traditions. In other words, people establishing new communities in the region during the 1200s may have come from divergent cultural backgrounds, which were reflected in the way they organized the land. Whether cause or consequence, conflict was the ultimate result of this overt and symbolic competition, and the emergence of a reordered ancestral Pueblo world in the fourteenth century was the ultimate outcome.

## CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY

Architecture and terrain tell us something about the presence of parallel and possibly competitive perspectives on the organization of space during the Pindi Phase in the Galisteo, but they represent only one element of the cultural landscape, within which other expressions of difference are identifiable. From my perspective, it is the detailed survey of these broader landscapes, examining how they change in space and time, that offers us the best opportunity to understand such differences and how they reflected local social and cultural processes. Our work in the western Galisteo is providing just this sort of evidence, as I will argue here, using information from our survey work at Petroglyph Hill.

Petroglyph Hill lies at the east end of my view from the Burnt Corn room-block. The associated ranch—which borders the BLM tract including Burnt Corn, to the west—was acquired as open space by Santa Fe County in 2002, a process that created an archaeological district of several thousand acres. The summit of Petroglyph Hill, marked by nearly 2,000 petroglyphs, stands high above the surrounding terrain (see figure 8.1). In fact, now that we're looking for Petroglyph Hill, we realize that it can be seen from places dozens of miles away, across the Galisteo Basin and even beyond. Despite the provocative

name and its proximity to Santa Fe, the site has never been formally studied by archaeologists and, in fact, had never been formally recorded prior to 2004.<sup>4</sup>

For our purposes, Petroglyph Hill presents two rare opportunities, the first being to study what might be called a *regional shrine*. With only a few exceptions (Schaafsma 1990; Snead and Preucel 1999), there is almost no published literature of recent date on shrines (but see Ortman, chapter 7, this volume), particularly those with significance above the level of the local community. The second opportunity is that the intact nature of the modern landscape encompassing Burnt Corn and Petroglyph Hill and the complete access to this landscape for study allow for archaeological survey of all of the associated terrain. We can thus unpack the spatial associations between shrine and community and look for archaeological evidence that tells us more about the patterns of activity that connect the two.

Although there is some evidence for Archaic rock art in the Burnt Corn–Petroglyph Hill area, the most significant use of Petroglyph Hill appears at this point to have begun in the thirteenth century. In terms of design motifs, these petroglyphs appear to predate the advent of the Río Grande style associated with the early fourteenth century and subsequent periods (Schaafsma 1992).<sup>5</sup> Imagery associated with these later periods is present at Petroglyph Hill, but at a low frequency when compared to major, Classic Period rock-art sites elsewhere in the Galisteo Basin, such as Pueblo Blanco or San Cristobal. The large, dramatic images of masks, anthropomorphic figures, and Awanyu/serpents, for instance, are almost entirely absent.

When taken together with the relevant spatial associations, I interpret the petroglyph evidence to mean either that the community was established in reference to the shrine, or that the shrine and community were established at the same time. Two different but related premises flow from these scenarios, both related to the larger issue of grounding social legitimacy in the landscape. If Burnt Corn was constructed in *reference* to Petroglyph Hill, this implies a desire to frame the new community within the preexisting local order, either because such a relationship already existed or as acknowledgment of the power of such connections. Legitimacy was thus confirmed or created, either way couched in terms of cultural and perhaps political continuity.

If the Petroglyph Hill shrine was *inaugurated* by the builders of Burnt Corn, it reflects an equal concern for establishing legitimacy, one not previously rooted in local traditions and thus perhaps more urgent—which may explain the intensity of activity indicated by the dense overlay of petroglyphs on the hill's summit. Either way, fixing Burnt Corn in place involved marking the land at such a considerable scale. The people of Burnt Corn needed to be written into the Galisteo landscape in order to ensure the community's survival within the regional social context.

I thus see the destruction of Burnt Corn only a few years after it was established as, among other things, a repudiation of the relationships within the landscape that such construction represented (Snead 2004). The incineration of Burnt Corn Pueblo was not simply a raid or strike against economic rivals but also an attack on history—either the “real” history of a group with deep cultural ties to the area or the “created history” (or, *sensu* Hobsbawm 1983, an invented tradition) of an immigrant group. In its place the smoking ruins represented a third history, one that persisted long after any direct recollection of the events that created it had vanished. We can’t know what that story was, but in Pueblo tradition the destruction of a community was an inevitable correlate of the moral failure of its inhabitants (Lomatuway’ma et al. 1992). What the people of Burnt Corn had failed to establish in life—a place grounded in landscape history—they succeeded in establishing in death, albeit with very different implications.

There is more, however, to be learned about continuity and discontinuity in the Galisteo landscape from Petroglyph Hill. Petroglyphs associated with the fourteenth-century Río Grande style, and in particular the imagery of the Katsina Cult, are present together with those of the earlier era. This suggests that regardless of the fate of Burnt Corn, the shrine itself continued to have significance. Munson (personal communication, 2005) suggests that these features are relatively late additions to the Río Grande style, implying in the present case that Petroglyph Hill was “active” into the Classic Period but that use of the site declined over time. It is also notable that as a topographic feature, the hill is not as integral to the Classic Period landscape as it was earlier. For instance, although the major community of San Marcos is less than eight kilometers from Petroglyph Hill, those living there would have had to walk some distance from their home to see it.

One of the purposes of our survey at Petroglyph Hill was to determine whether the changing significance of the shrine over time is reflected in archaeological data besides petroglyphs. In particular, I’m curious as to whether different modes of land use can be documented and placed in context. I’m also hopeful that some evidence regarding ritual practices associated with such shrines will ultimately be identified. Most of the recorded sites are ephemeral artifact scatters that reflect some pattern of resource use in the dissected uplands of the Galisteo Basin that has yet to be clarified. There is, however, considerable overlap in the distribution of Coalition and Classic period sites in the dissected uplands surrounding Petroglyph Hill itself.

The overlapping patterns of land use at Petroglyph Hill imply common land-use practices over time, which itself is distinct. This isn’t the pattern at Burnt Corn itself, for instance, since in the generations after its destruction, the former community core was explicitly avoided, leaving a “void”

surrounding the ruins (Snead 2004). I interpret this pattern as reflecting the negative symbolism of the place. The fact that such avoidance behavior does not appear to have taken place at Petroglyph Hill suggests a certain nuance in competition over landscapes. In other words, violence associated with community identity seems to have been directed only at certain kinds of places. It may well be that shrines such as Petroglyph Hill were places of transcendent significance, not subject to destruction. I'm interested in the possibility that they could, instead, be *coopted*. It may be that more detailed examination of the associations of petroglyph imagery from different eras would identify a pattern of superposition, perhaps efforts to "redefine" Petroglyph Hill in terms of a new ideology.

## CONCLUSION

If landscapes represent history and cultural knowledge, then control of landscape is a source of social power. What we are beginning to see in the landscapes of the Galisteo Basin that were established in the A.D. 1200s is how such power was established, maintained, or lost. The destruction of Burnt Corn was an attack against that place and its meaning, at least as originally constituted. To quote Sarah Tarlow, "[v]iolent action such as desecration is a trespass which implies not only antipathy toward the individual or group against which it is directed, but also for all their most profoundly held beliefs and principles, everything that they stand for" (Tarlow 1997:133). There is, of course, the scenario in which Burnt Corn was destroyed by its own residents as an act of "decommissioning," but such a process would have been as much a repudiation of the meaning of the site as initially constituted as if it had been destroyed by others.

The cooption of Petroglyph Hill following the destruction of Burnt Corn, although less dramatic, had a similar intent: to overlay one layer of meaning in the landscape with another. In fact, the landscapes that emerge in association with the post-A.D. 1350 community houses reflect a new way that identity was organized in the land. Places like San Marcos were occupied over hundreds of years, each generation building new roomblocks with the components of those abandoned by their ancestors, creating a historical palimpsest conceptually similar to those that had once existed on the Colorado Plateau. New form and meaning had emerged, however, reflecting new circumstances and new history. This landscape had a past, one that provided fertile context for community identity. Within this landscape, places like Burnt Corn that had once represented alternative identities became tangible cautionary tales that reinforced social mechanisms. It may be that somewhere descendants of

the people of Burnt Corn persisted, maintaining their own divergent traditions, viewing the same landscapes through different eyes. For them, stories told in the kivas were not ones of harmony and tradition, but of loss. And it is only through acknowledging such complex histories and meanings that we can begin to grasp the true nature of ancestral Pueblo landscapes.

## NOTES

1. Relationships between grinding slicks and larger features of the landscape became increasingly evident during the 2006 field season. A GIS analysis of these correlations is currently being conducted by Greg Greene of California Polytechnic University, Pomona.

2. The term “ruin” is currently in disrepute, largely because the English sense of the term implies something abandoned and no longer in use. Our misunderstanding of such places is, indeed, one of the themes in this chapter, but the word is still a familiar referent and seems appropriate in this context.

3. I am grateful to Jason Yeager for a conversation on the differences between memory and history, which helped me think about these concepts and the ways that archaeologists use them.

4. Gary Hein (personal communication, 2005) has demonstrated that Petroglyph Hill can be seen from San Cristobal, to the southeast, and even from the Cieneguilla petroglyphs, far to the northwest. Documentation of the petroglyph site itself, on the hilltop, is being undertaken by Marit Munson of Trent University, while our team, led by field director Genevieve Head, conducted an inventory survey of the surrounding 1,438 acres (see Snead 2005, 2006). Burnt Corn is partially on private land and partially managed by the Bureau of Land Management, which also oversees a large tract of associated land that abuts the Petroglyph Hill parcel.

5. My argument here is built on the assumptions that particular rock-art motifs *are* associated with the Coalition Period, and that they *are* dominant at Petroglyph Hill, both of which might well be refuted as research continues.



# IV

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## MIGRATION, SETTLEMENT, AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION





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## Imagining Communities in the Cibola Past

*Gregson Schachner*

Archaeological studies of community have been at the forefront of research focused on the interplay of structure and agency in Southwest archaeology (Adler 2002; Hegmon 2002; Varien 1999; multiple chapters in this volume). These studies have encouraged researchers to examine how local social systems provide social and physical resources for daily life and structure long-term change and continuity. In this chapter, I build on these studies by examining variability in community-level organization in the Cibola region from roughly A.D. 1000 to 1300 (figure 9.1). Regional variability in social histories and the origins of Cibola communities highlights the diversity of local social organization in ancestral Puebloan societies and suggests that we should be wary of applying overly specific community models across a wide variety of cases (Hegmon 2002). By taking the view that community is an ever-changing, emergent property rather than an always present object to be discovered, we can continue to move from identifying archaeological communities to examining how community-level organization arose and was transformed over time (Hegmon 2002; Isbell 2000; Pauketat 2003).

The study of communities in the Cibola region has played an important role in the development of archaeological models of community organization during the Chaco (A.D. 1000–1150) and post-Chaco period (A.D. 1150–1275) in the northern Southwest. The Manuelito Model proposed by Andrew Fowler and John Stein (e.g., Fowler et al. 1987; Fowler and Stein 1992; Stein and Fowler 1996), and expanded upon by Keith Kintigh (Kintigh 1994, 1996; Kintigh et al. 1996), provides an excellent illustration of long-term continuity in settlement processes across much of northwest New Mexico and northeast Arizona. This model of community organization emphasizes the importance

of ritual structures and landscapes as key focal points for agricultural communities with deep historical roots.

The Manuelito Model is primarily an attempt to explain why some aspects of the archaeological record, such as types of ritual architecture and site layouts, persist through time and share common characteristics across a wide area of the southern Colorado Plateau. The model does not focus on why particular types of community organization arose and were transformed in different areas. This perspective derives in part from the regional scope of the model, but also from the authors' emphasis on the common social structures of ancient Puebloan communities rather than the agency of individuals or groups. I suggest that by more closely examining variability in Cibola communities, we can add temporal and spatial detail to the Manuelito Model and focus on how ancient Pueblo people drew upon social resources to creatively form new communities with variable histories and geography that often combined new ideas with old.

After a brief discussion of anthropological and archaeological concepts of community, I compare spatial and temporal trends in the Cibola archaeological record and suggest that local social systems were more variable than previously thought. In addition, I suggest change and innovation in social organization arose primarily along the margins of the Cibola area, where long-term, continuous settlement was absent. These areas were less well understood during the initial formulation of the Manuelito Model in the 1980s, and their inclusion in the discussion provides key insights into region-wide changes in Cibola community organization during the A.D. 1200s. In order to understand these transformations, I argue that archaeologists should approach communities as dynamic social constructions that are the products of historically situated interaction between groups with diverse interests, rather than as fundamental ever-present social units. Variations in settlement patterns are not simply indicative of changing community spatial organization, but are the cumulative remains of differing practices that local social groups engaged in while referencing important places of the past, marking social boundaries, and exploring new organizational possibilities. By focusing on the context of this variation, we can begin to explain how different types of local social systems arose, persisted, and were transformed.

## FINDING AND IMAGINING COMMUNITIES IN THE PAST

As the editors point out in their introductory chapter, one of the most dangerous and common pitfalls of community research is the reification of the community concept itself. Social groups analogous to what anthropologists term

“communities” are not necessarily present in every society, and even when they are present, individuals may maintain multiple identities and memberships that become active in varying social and temporal contexts (Hegmon 2002). The maintenance of community-level socioeconomic interaction and boundaries are social processes that need to be documented, rather than assumed to be present (Kintigh 2003). In an influential, yet difficult chapter, William Isbell (2000) presents this problem as the tension between “natural” and “imagined” visions of community. In discussing mid-twentieth-century community studies, Isbell (2000:245) notes that:

Anthropologists [*and we could easily include many archaeologists*] convinced themselves that the small community of directly interacting individuals—fulfilling its own social, economic, and reproductive needs—was an empirical thing discovered ethnographically. As the anthropological imagination was reified, a science of comparative anthropology appeared to show that the community was the natural unit of human organization within which the linkage of society and culture could be explained. [*italics added*]

This view of community is understandable considering it provides a unit for cross-cultural comparison and a relatively localized social field amenable to the temporal and geographic circumstances of ethnographic fieldwork.

Despite its utility for the researcher, however, Isbell (2000:247–48) notes that many later anthropologists reevaluated the functional, idealized view of communities, especially as they began to explore the importance of regional ties and internal factionalism in small-scale societies. Some of these studies directly challenged the interpretations proposed in seminal community studies (e.g., Lewis’s 1951 reevaluation of Redfield’s studies of Tepoztlán). The shift from structural-functional theoretical approaches to agency-oriented approaches in the last few decades represented a further challenge to the community concept (Isbell 2000:247). Agency and practice theory encouraged a reexamination of many “natural” aspects of society, including communities, and turned our attention to how social groups are formed, maintained, and changed by individuals and social groups acting within the framework of specific historical circumstances. Isbell (2000:248) questions why some archaeologists have revived earlier models of community, especially when they are poorly suited to modern social theory, which pervades archaeological studies of other topics, such as social identity, landscape, ideology, religion, and the origins of inequality. “Natural” community models, by rendering community an ever-present human universal, make understanding how local social systems are established and change even more difficult than it already is.

The alternative perspective that Isbell proposes is the “imagined” community, a concept that has simultaneously intrigued and confused many archaeologists,

including the present author. I suggest that much of the confusion arises from the use of the word “imagined.” Some scholars exploring Isbell’s “imagined” community might focus on the first part of the phrase, depicting community as an internalized ideology largely inaccessible to outsiders, particularly archaeologists. However, another way to view Isbell’s concept is to see the idea *and* social and physical manifestations of community as constructions as arbitrary as any other social phenomenon. From this perspective, community ceases to be a static object of study with common functional characteristics and instead is viewed as a dynamic process of local interaction and negotiation with socially differentiated actors and spaces. “The ‘imagined community’ is fluid and changing as actors select alternatives available, strive to create new ones, and pursue the goals they perceive” (Isbell 2000:249).

The “imagined” approach highlights the importance of understanding how local social systems changed and were contested. When did community-level social groupings emerge or disappear? How did different social groups benefit? When and how did new and competing visions of community materialize? Was community membership more strongly expressed at some times rather than others? If so, when and how? A focus on social variability, practice, and historical contexts opens up the study of community to modern theoretical understandings of social process and interaction (Hegmon 2002; Pauketat 2000, 2003).

The “imagined” community approach strongly encourages us to study the archaeological record in comparative terms (Pauketat 2001b, 2003). Rather than focusing on traits that define all archaeological communities, this perspective promotes an analysis of variation across time and space. One can view temporal and spatial variability in the *idea* of community and its physical and social manifestations as some of the diverse structural resources (as discussed by Varien and Potter, chapter 1, this volume) that ancient people drew upon in the development and maintenance of local networks of interaction. In addition, rather than viewing communal ritual architecture or site clusters simply as indicators of community-level interaction, these should be seen as the materialization of social negotiations about the form and function of local social networks over time and across space (Pauketat 2003:41–42).

Practice-oriented approaches also caution against assuming social phenomena equivalent to what archaeologists commonly term “communities” necessarily existed at all times and in all places (Hegmon 2002:268–70). Many social fields lack the territoriality, internally focused socioeconomic interaction, and social boundaries that are often associated with traditional anthropological models of community. Communities may be particularly hard to define in areas of frequent population circulation, where strongly defined boundaries are difficult to maintain, and fluidity in social practices

and groups enables the continual incorporation and redefinition of people, identity, and interaction at various scales (Chapman and Prothero 1985; Hamnett 1977; Kopytoff 1987; Schlegel 1992; Watson 1970). Ancient Southwest societies may share many of these characteristics, particularly before the rise of large nucleated villages in the late thirteenth century A.D.

Archaeologists working in the Southwest have an additional pitfall to overcome while studying communities in the past. The rich anthropological literature of the Southwest has tended to focus on individual villages that conform fairly well to our “natural” visions of community, and this inevitably influences how we study the social groupings of the past. Although the problems inherent in using historic and modern pueblos as ethnographic analogues have been well explored, especially in regards to social inequality (Brandt 1994; McGuire and Saitta 1996; Upham 1982; Wilcox 1981), we should also recognize that ethnographic accounts have structured how we view local social organization and settlement patterns in the past (Lekson 1990; Whiteley 2004).

From a long-term perspective, the considerable time depth and “deep sedentism” of the historic and modern Southwest pueblos are exceptional (Lekson 1990). Few, if any, villages occupied in the past conform to this pattern, a fact illustrated in both the archaeological record and the migration traditions of Pueblo peoples (Bernardini 2005). The tendency for Southwest archaeologists to think of past settlements in terms of well-bounded, internally focused communities may derive, at least partly, from an attempt to identify social and demographic analogues to historic and modern villages within an archaeological record largely characterized by radically different patterns of residence and landscape use. The ethnographic record provides many useful avenues for exploring the configuration of ancient Southwest local systems, but we must recognize the fundamental difference between settlement systems in two eras separated by a major shift toward nucleation during the Pueblo IV period, the impacts of colonialism, and the entrance of Numic, Athapaskan, Hispanic, and Anglo populations.

## CONFRONTING VARIATION IN CIBOLA COMMUNITIES

The Cibola archaeological record provides evidence for contrasting examples of how local social systems may have formed and persisted over time. The Manuelito Model provides one of the clearest definitions of Cibola communities, and should be considered the “standard model” for Cibola community organization and change during the Chaco and post-Chaco periods (A.D. 1000–1275). Fowler and Stein initially proposed their model of Cibola

community development to explain the archaeology of Manuelito Canyon, a tributary of the Rio Puerco near the Arizona–New Mexico state line. Manuelito Canyon was densely occupied by Pueblo farmers from the Basketmaker III through the late Pueblo III periods, if not longer (Fowler et al. 1987). The Chaco- and post-Chaco-period settlement systems in the canyon are notable for visual and physical connections between a series of sequential ritual centers, illustrating the vital importance of connections to important places of the past (Fowler et al. 1987). The model's original proponents inferred that co-occurrence and connections between ritual centers represented strong continuity in community settlement systems and identity.

Through a series of regional studies, Fowler and Stein more fully defined the relationships among distinguishing characteristics of Pueblo ritual landscapes between A.D. 1000 and 1275, including great houses, great kivas, residential pueblos, and landscape modification, such as roads and mounds (Fowler et al. 1987; Fowler and Stein 1992; Stein and Lekson 1992). Ritual landscapes and architecture, along with an associated cluster of residential pueblos, are now considered the typical spatial expression of a Cibola community (see Kintigh 1994, 1996; Stein and Fowler 1996). In their view, these associations were not merely characteristic of the Chaco period, but constitutive of a long-term pattern that began in the Basketmaker III period, with the first great kivas, and continued through to the construction of large nucleated sites in the late A.D. 1200s. Although identifying a number of changes in spatial organization and architecture, Manuelito Model proponents focused on continuity in community organization and identity. Stein and Fowler (1996:116) interpret Cibola communities as “as a rigid social and political structure that defined and maintained the boundaries of the old communities from at least Basketmaker times on.”

The Manuelito Model can be characterized as a “natural community” approach, as its proponents view residential clusters anchored by persistent ritual places as the fundamental suprahousehold organizational unit in ancient Cibola society. The origins of this type of social organization and its potential variations are largely unexplored, as community is depicted as a natural, always present social unit in Pueblo society. The Manuelito Model provides a useful framework for understanding long-term continuity in local social systems, especially in the Cibola core, but it can be improved upon by taking an “imagined” perspective that critically examines a few of the implications of its fairly static depiction of ancient Pueblo society.

First, the Manuelito Model portrays ritual architecture as somewhat standardized, integrative space that served as a community-level gathering point and proxy for community identity. Southwest archaeologists have begun to question the assumption that all ritual architecture, such as a great house, is

primarily integrative, especially in light of the fact that we still have very little understanding of who, if anyone, resided in these structures and how they and other forms of ritual architecture were controlled (Kintigh 2003). How ritual architecture was controlled, and who it was primarily used by, is still a fundamental question in many areas of the Southwest, one that has key implications for our understanding of how local communities and social identities were created and transformed. “Imagined” approaches highlight the potential for multiple meanings and asymmetric experiences of community, and they suggest we explore how ritual architecture was experienced by diverse groups and contributed to differing roles in the construction and maintenance of local interaction.

Second, we should not presuppose that all Cibola communities have identical spatial and social structures to that posited under the Manuelito Model. If we have located one component from our archaeological checklist of community features, such as a great house, we should not assume a surrounding cluster of residential pueblos is also present (or vice versa). For example, in many places where we have large areas of survey coverage, the spatial association between clusters of residential sites and ritual architecture is often tenuous or nonexistent, questioning both overdetermined models of community structure and the integrative importance of ritual architecture (Gilpin 2003; Kintigh 2003, see below). Departures from the standard model may not simply be a result of sampling or our inability to identify key components in the archaeological record. Instead, we should focus on these differences as key lines of evidence for understanding variability in local settlement histories that structure the development of community-level organization in particular areas.

Finally, we have a relatively limited understanding of the frequency or geographic scope of intercommunity movement in the Cibola region and many other parts of the American Southwest. In many small-scale societies, social networks created by kinship, ritual, and exchange crosscut boundaries between local systems and serve as avenues for frequent intercommunity movement (Chapman and Prothero 1985; Graham 1994). Geographers and anthropologists working in Melanesia propose that these types of movement are fundamental aspects of social practice and structure, shaping the persistence of settlement and key aspects of sociopolitical organization (Chapman and Prothero 1985; de Lepervanche 1967–1968; Hamnett 1977; Watson 1970, 1985). In addition, these researchers suggest that when viewed from the long term (i.e., for longer than the few years of a standard ethnographic project), most local social systems undergo numerous changes in membership, geography, and social interaction as people circulate among local social systems. Through both short- and long-term moves, people change residences



within their local area and selectively create, maintain, and discontinue social, political, and economic alliances, which crosscut what we might define as communities (Chapman and Prothero 1985; de Lepervanche 1967–1968; Hamnett 1977; Watson 1970, 1985). Community becomes a moving target. Presumably, movement among the dispersed residences in the ancient Pueblo past contributed to similar social fluidity and constant change (see Schachner 2007; Varien 1999).

Research in other parts of the Cibola core has identified settlement processes similar to those proposed in the Manuelito Model, albeit with a few key variations. As discussed above, this diversity is not simply noise in the archaeological record, but rather is evidence of important differences in how social systems developed and functioned in varying local contexts. By exploring that variability, I highlight some of the areas we may explore in future research and illustrate that well-bounded, persistent communities were not ever-present features of social life in the ancient Cibola region.

Archaeological survey and excavation conducted during the Ojo Bonito Archaeological Project (OBAP) and the Heshot ufa Archaeological Research Project (HARP) documented a series of changes in core-area social systems during the period from roughly A.D. 800 to 1275 (Kintigh et al. 1996, 2004) (figure 9.1). As expected under the Manuelito Model, OBAP archaeologists recorded multiple physical and spatial connections between ritual centers utilized in different time periods. In one instance, a Chaco-period great house and great kiva, H-Spear, were constructed on a portion of a very large Pueblo I-period village that includes two potential great kivas (Kintigh 2007). In another, a road connects the post-Chaco Hinkson great house and great kiva with Ojo Bonito, a later, nucleated Pueblo IV-period village (Kintigh et al. 1996:267–68). Thus, in the OBAP area, there are clear indications that people were emphasizing long-term settlement histories and referencing important places of the past, which is a key component of community structure and continuity in the Manuelito Model.

Other evidence from the OBAP area questions the inference that Cibola communities typically contain both public architecture and residential pueblos. During the Chaco period, most residential sites are concentrated along the Zuni River, from ten to fifteen kilometers from H-Spear, which is located to the southeast, over a large mesa separating the two main drainages in the survey area (figure 9.2). As mentioned above, clusters of Chaco-period settlements that lack public architecture are fairly common (Gilpin 2003; Kintigh 2003) and may be more widespread than we currently assume due to our tendency to focus research on large, elaborate sites. Toward the end of the post-Chaco period (A.D. 1225–1275), OBAP area settlement more closely conforms to what we might expect under the

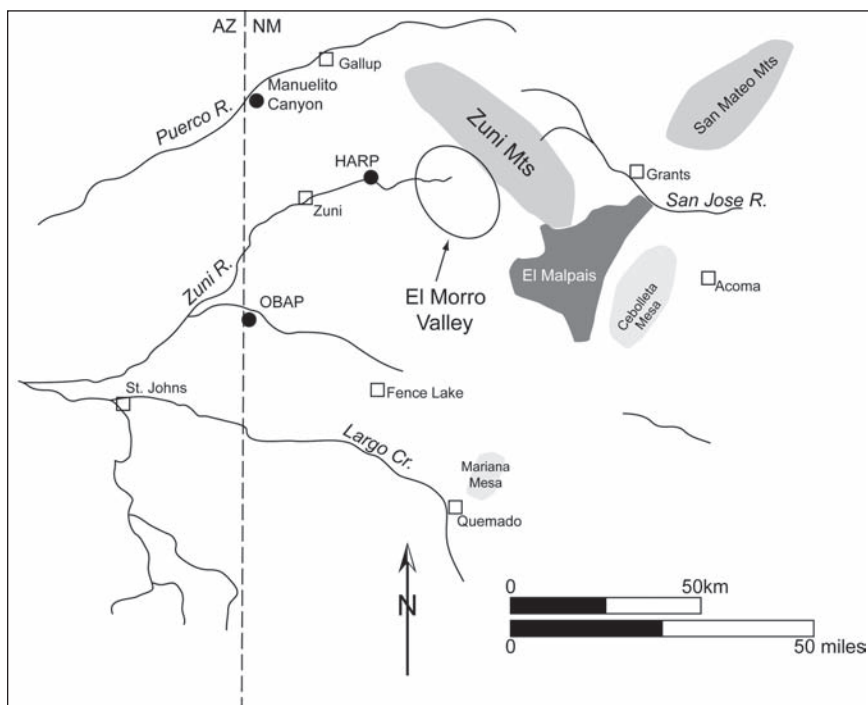


Figure 9.1. The Cibola area.

Manuelito Model, as nearly all residents of the area appear to have been living in two aggregated sites, each with public architecture (Eckert 1995). The largest of these, the Hinkson cluster, includes thirty-two roomblocks and a great house, with an associated unroofed great kiva and roads (Kintigh et al. 1996).

Approximately four kilometers downstream is the site of Jaralosa, which contains ten roomblocks and a potential great kiva. The spatial proximity of these clusters suggests residents shared the surrounding region for subsistence activities, and compositional studies indicate that pottery frequently circulated between the two villages (Duff 1993). Kintigh and others (1996:270–72) suggested that the Jaralosa and Hinkson clusters comprised a single post-Chaco community, due to the spacing between other potential community centers in the area (roughly four other centers fifteen to eighteen kilometers distant from Hinkson) and evidence for intensive local economic interaction. The sociopolitical relationship between the two site clusters remains unclear, though. This question is particularly difficult to answer without better knowledge about who may have resided in the Hinkson great house, which is closely associated with

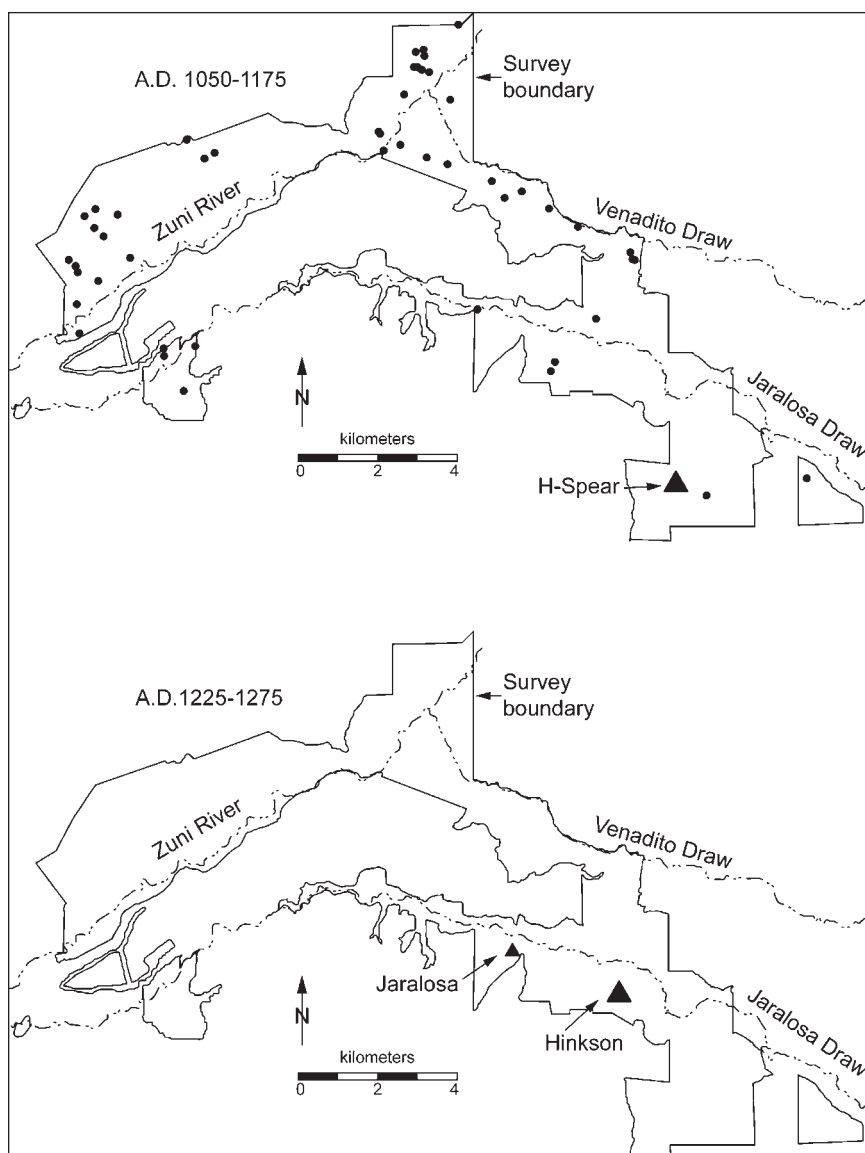


Figure 9.2. The OBAP survey area.

the largest ritual structure in the area. Although it seems likely that there were close social ties between Jaralosa and Hinkson residents, whether they acted as a single sociopolitical unit, recognized a common social identity, or coordinated subsistence activities is difficult to discern. Thus, even in cases with extensive

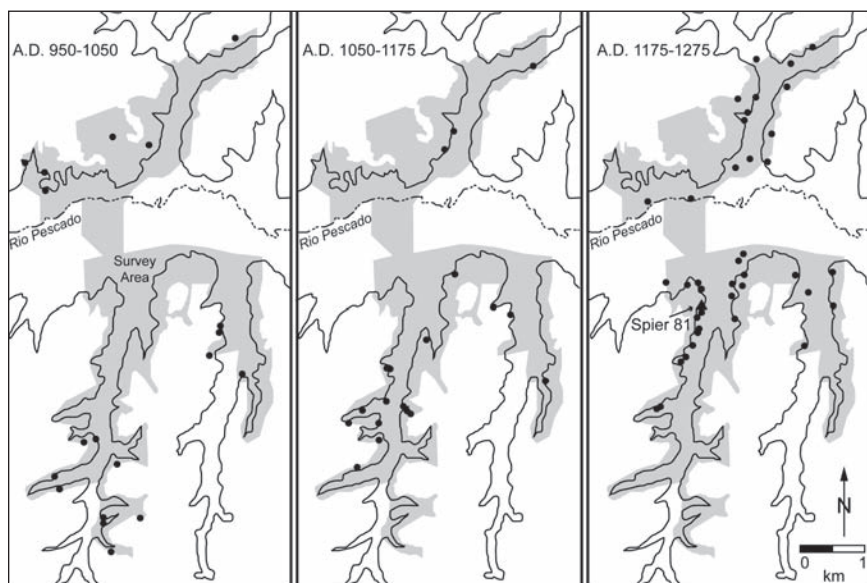


Figure 9.3. The HARP survey area.

survey coverage and excavated material, such as OBAP, we can have a difficult time defining communities, let alone explaining their creation and maintenance. When viewed from a perspective that emphasizes variability and the role of different groups in local social systems, however, key questions, such as the role and function of the great house, or the extent to which Hinkson and Jaralosa residents acted independently, are highlighted for further research.

In the HARP area, extensive survey documented fairly continuous residential occupation during the Pueblo I through Pueblo IV periods, but ritual architecture equivalent to that identified in the Manuelito Model appeared only intermittently (figure 9.3). Despite the presence of a number of Chaco-period residential pueblos, the nearest great house, Village of the Great Kivas, is ten kilometers to the north-northwest of the central portion of the survey area. In fact, only three Chaco-period great houses have been recorded on the Zuni Indian Reservation (Fowler et al. 1987), despite the presence of significant Pueblo II-period occupation in the area.<sup>1</sup>

Communal ritual architecture did not appear in the HARP area until the early Pueblo III period, with the founding of Spier 81, a small post-Chaco-period great house with a subterranean great kiva (Kintigh et al. 2004:Fig. 6). Spier 81 is not surrounded by a dense cluster of contemporaneous residential pueblos, as might be expected under the Manuelito Model of post-Chacoan community organization. Instead, the earlier pattern of dispersed residences persists into the Pueblo

III period in the HARP area, a sharp contrast with the move toward densely clustered residence seen at OBAP and other parts of the Cibola region.

Fairly dispersed residence continued in the HARP area until the founding of the nucleated pueblo of Heshot uła in the late A.D. 1200s. Heshot uła seems to have been constructed in order to house the entire local population (Kintigh et al. 2004), indicating a transition toward a settlement organization that more clearly expressed a unified, suprahousehold identity and social unit. Although the construction of this nucleated pueblo may have been undertaken by local residents, this does not necessarily imply that a unified, suprahousehold identity was present in the area prior to its founding. In fact, the lack of clear settlement clustering in the HARP area before the construction of Heshot uła may indicate that strong, community-level social organization was not important. The act of construction of Heshot uła itself was probably a key process in forging a new community identity (see Pauketat 2003). This radical change in settlement form would have required significant restructuring of social practices, especially those that linked households and other small-scale social units that had previously enjoyed much greater autonomy of residence and domestic activity.

A number of social developments, particularly the demographic flux gripping the Colorado Plateau during the extensive migrations of the late 1200s and an increase in episodes of violence (LeBlanc 1999), may have encouraged people to introduce new types of organization in local systems that emphasized large-scale communal action. Although the massive nucleated villages of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries represent some of the most overt architectural marking of collective social action in the archaeological record of the Colorado Plateau, this does not suggest that the primary social identities of people's lives coincided with their village of residence. Even after the formation of large nucleated villages, movement between pueblos by smaller social units, such as clans, lineages, and households, continued, and these social groups likely remained important units of identity and action (Bernardini 2005; also see Whiteley 2004). As illustrated below, the effects of population movement on local social networks and identity in the Cibola area are perhaps best examined by focusing on the Cibola periphery, where movement was more frequent, and there may have been even greater variation in the organization and persistence of local settlement systems.

### **EMERGING VISIONS OF COMMUNAL IDENTITY IN THE CIBOLA PERIPHERY**

Examination of local systems in the Cibola periphery suggests even greater variation in local organization and highlights the importance of viewing communities,

and especially their creation, from an agent-based “imagined” perspective. For this chapter, I define the Cibola periphery as the intermittently occupied areas around the core, including the El Morro Valley and Fence Lake–Quemado areas (figure 9.1). Although at times these areas were densely populated, they were distinct from the core in that they lacked continuous, long-term settlement. Instead, we see a pattern of periodic, short-term occupation accompanied by rapid sequences of population growth and decline (Duff and Schachner 2007; LeBlanc 1978; Schachner 2007; Watson et al. 1980). Local settlement systems in these areas lack the deep historical roots and persistent places seen in the Cibola core, including in Manuelito Canyon and both the OBAP and HARP areas. As a result, new residents may have had greater freedom to explore alternative visions of local settlement organization, some of which foreshadowed the massive transformation in Cibola settlement that occurred in the late thirteenth century, with the complete transition to nucleated pueblos.

In the discussion that follows, I focus on the El Morro Valley (figure 9.4), which is the best known of the peripheral areas and one of the few occupied during both the late Pueblo III and early Pueblo IV periods, when some of the most significant changes in settlement systems occurred. It should be noted that recent research focusing on the Fence Lake–Quemado area is yielding evidence of similar short-term occupation, albeit during the Chaco period (Duff 2005; Huber and Van West 2005). In that area, we are only beginning to get a sense of the diversity of community forms present, although Duff’s (2005) research on Chaco communities suggests that a range of spatial organization is present, even among settlements located near one another.

Except for a brief, minor occupation during the early A.D. 900s, the El Morro Valley was not used for permanent residence until sometime after A.D. 1225. Population levels increased rapidly in the mid-1200s, as hundreds of Pueblo farmers migrated into the valley, most likely from nearby areas within the Cibola region (LeBlanc 1978; Schachner 2007; Watson et al. 1980). These new residents established scores of residential pueblos as well as roughly a dozen sites containing ritual facilities, such as great houses, great kivas of various types, and plazas.

Several different patterns of settlement clustering are apparent among sites that were occupied during the mid-1200s (figure 9.4). Among the mesas and canyons that bound the valley on the southwest, residential sites are found nearly continuously over a swath of land a few kilometers wide and nearly fifteen kilometers long. Settlement in the central and northern portions of the valley is more clustered, although this is likely related to the patchy availability of agricultural land, as much of this portion of the valley is covered in ancient lava flows. The eastern part of the valley is largely empty except for a single cluster of pueblos at Tinaja.

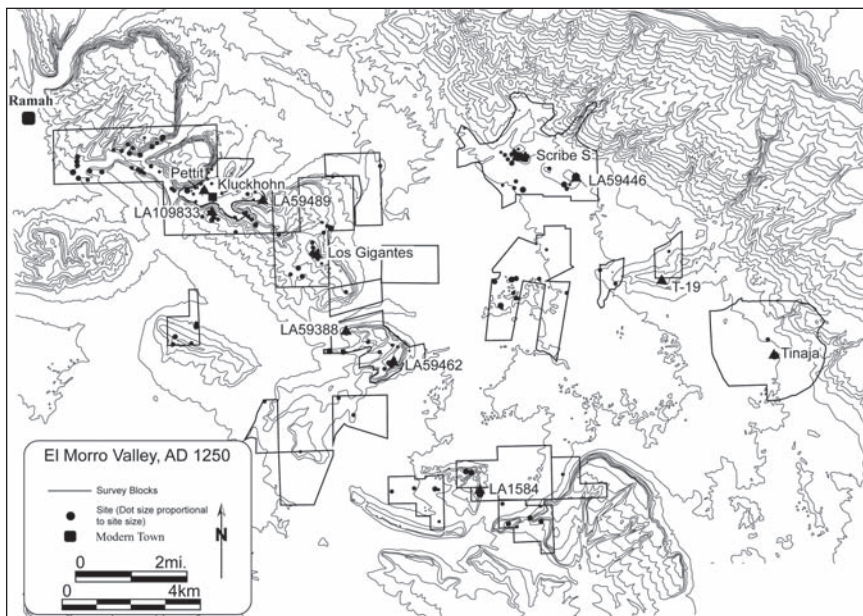


Figure 9.4. The El Morro Valley survey area.

In the El Morro Valley, large sites with ritual architecture are often in close proximity to one another, making the association of residential clusters with particular “central” sites difficult. This is especially true of the large southwestern cluster of sites that includes Pettit, LA109883, Los Gigantes, LA59388, and LA59462, all of which are contemporary, large sites with ritual architecture. Most residential pueblos in the area are within two to four kilometers of at least two of these sites. The concentration of these features in the El Morro Valley makes the most frequently employed methods for defining residential communities, spatial proximity, and association with ritual architecture difficult to apply consistently. The identification of geographic boundaries for settlement clusters is even more problematic. If we attempt to strictly apply the Manuelito Model in the El Morro case, we might view the multiple instances of large sites with ritual architecture and a lack of distinct settlement clustering as evidence for population packing and the maintenance of particularly small community territories. An alternative interpretation is that this pattern may indicate the presence of crosscutting ceremonial networks, fairly loose social boundaries, and varying visions of communal action pursued by diverse social groups. The comparatively free-flowing social structure of the El Morro Valley during this period may have been largely a function of the fact that social systems were exclusively the domain of new arrivals. Compared to long-occupied regions,



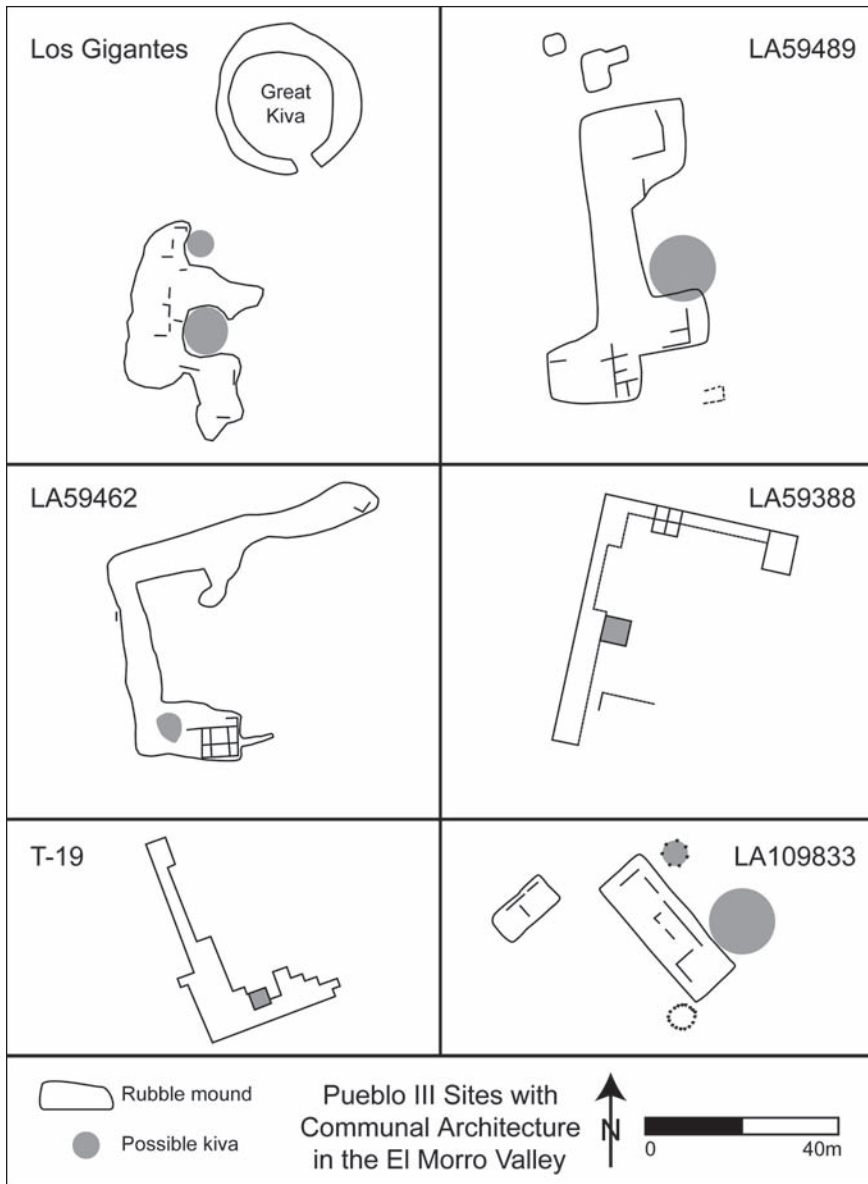


Figure 9.5. El Morro PIII sites with communal architecture.

people would have been interacting in an area that was only beginning to be defined as a place of residence and that lacked social and physical structures rooted in long-term occupation of place.



In addition to a lack of time depth, El Morro residents appear to have been much more mobile than their counterparts in the Cibola core. Artifact densities at El Morro residential sites are significantly lower than in other parts of the Cibola region, and recent accumulation studies of cooking pots suggest that many of the small residential pueblos were occupied for less than ten years (Schachner 2007; Thompson 2005). People in the El Morro area appear to have changed residential locations often, further undermining the ability of people to draw on past social histories and stable occupations of particular places to define local social systems. This frequent movement may also compound the fact that the archaeological record, no matter how fine our chronology, still represents a palimpsest of activity rather than the static spatial remains of a community.

Experimentation in patterns of local interaction is seen in the diversity of El Morro ritual facilities. These structures take a variety of forms, some of which reference the past, while others presuppose some of the dramatic changes in Pueblo architecture that swept through the northern Southwest at the end of the 1200s. At Los Gigantes, residents drew upon traditional Chacoan elements, constructing a great house with a central courtyard kiva and an unroofed great kiva (figure 9.5; table 9.1). LA109833 also incorporates Chacoan elements, including a potential great kiva and small great house. Thus, some of the larger sites in the El Morro Valley echo the continuity in architectural traditions derived from Chaco that are a key indicator of long-term stability in community structure and organization posited in the Manuelito Model.

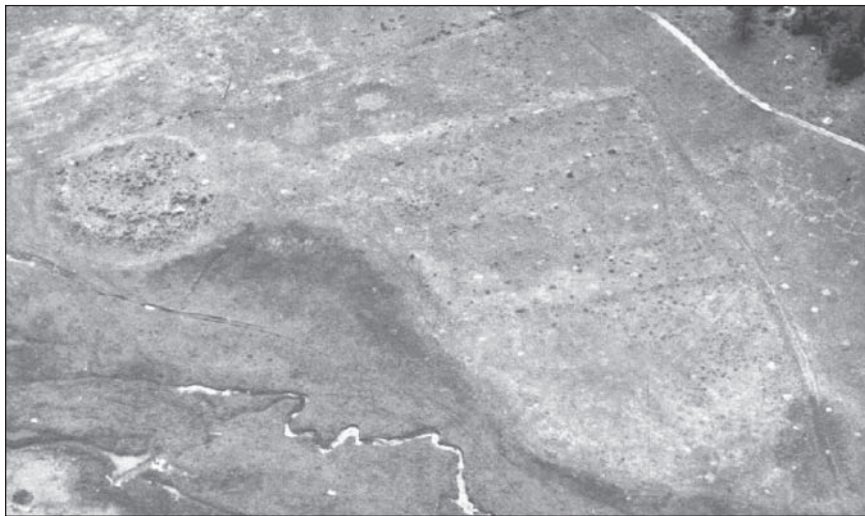
Other large sites, such as Scribe S or Pettit, possess no communal ritual structures that correspond to our archaeological definitions, despite the large number of residents at each. Small kivas were identified at Pettit (Saitta 1994) and undoubtedly existed at Scribe S, but none of these appear capable of containing the large numbers of people associated with communal ritual practices (Adler and Wilshusen 1990). It is possible that informally defined outdoor spaces were the primary arenas for ritual at these sites. Early versions of bounded plaza space are found at Tinaja, LA59388, LA59466, LA59462, and T-19 (figure 9.5). At the later four of these, the associated plazas appear to have been stripped clean to the sandstone bedrock and were at least partially bounded by roomblocks and the edges of mesas. The variety of ritual facilities used by El Morro Valley residents suggests they were pursuing different types of communal ritual, some of which were new to, or reinterpreted, the corpus of ritual practices in the Cibola area. Again, El Morro settlement was defined by its diversity rather than clear references to places and social structures of the past that were not present in the area.

One of the more intriguing aspects of variability in community organization in the El Morro Valley is the probable contemporaneity of the sites

**Table 9.1. Dates of Occupation and Traits of Pueblo III Centers in Cibola Region**

Pueblo III "Centers"	Dating/Basis	# of rooms at main roomblock	Communal Ritual Features	Residential pueblos within 1km
Pettit	1225-1275/ Pottery	100	?	21
LA59489	1225-1275/ Pottery	100	Large kiva?	8
LA109833	1225-1275/ Pottery	25	Great kiva?	15
Los Gigantes	1250-1275/ Tree-ring	40	Unroofed great kiva, Large kiva	18
LA59388	1225-1275/ Pottery	70	Plaza, Large kiva?	3
LA59462	1225-1275/ Pottery	90	Plaza, Large kiva?	7
LA1584	1225-1275/ Pottery	60	Great kiva? Large kiva?	5
Tinaja	1250-1290/ Tree-ring	80	Plaza, Large kivas?	12
T-19	1225-1275/ Pottery	60	Plaza, Large kiva?	1 (poor survey coverage)
LA59446	1225-1275/ Pottery	180	Plaza, Great kiva? Large kivas?	10
Scribe S	1225-1275/ Tree-ring	70	Plaza?	20

discussed above with a few large nucleated villages. Some authors have argued that analyses of tree ring-dated pottery assemblages indicate that some of the largest nucleated villages, including the Kluckhohn and Box S ruins, were founded as early as A.D. 1250, making them contemporary with smaller, clustered settlements, such as Los Gigantes and Scribe S, and among the first large nucleated villages on the Colorado Plateau (Duff and Schachner 2007; Kintigh 1985; Schachner 2007). Both Kluckhohn and Box S are distinguished from later nucleated villages, such as Pueblo de los Muertos, by their enormous size (1,000+ rooms), unroofed great kivas, and *lack* of large plaza spaces (figure 9.6). Recent surface inspections suggest that nearly the entire internal spaces of Kluckhohn and Box S were filled with rooms, indicating they may have been even larger than Kintigh's (1985) estimates, which as-



**Figure 9.6.** An aerial photograph of the Kluckhohn Ruin. Courtesy of Keith Kintigh.

sumed the existence of large, open plazas. Although the presence of unroofed great kivas at these villages suggests residents pursued some of the same rituals as people living at other sites in the valley, the concentration of hundreds of people in single buildings was a stark contrast with settlement systems of the past and the residences of most people in the valley.

If the pottery dating is correct, the early construction of Kluckhohn and Box S suggests the coexistence of radically different visions of residence, local interaction, and identity in the El Morro Valley during the mid-thirteenth century A.D. The potential co-occurrence of these different types of sites suggests that there may have been at least a short period of roughly twenty-five years when people were exposed to, and presumably actively constructing and supporting, alternative visions of what Cibola communities were and could be. The only settlement form to persist into the A.D. 1300s was the nucleated village, which rapidly, and completely, replaced a long-standing tradition of residence in small-scale dispersed pueblos. Of particular interest is that nucleated villages appear during a period of increased intraregional migration into the El Morro Valley, when the control of movement by small-scale social groups may have become more important. Nucleated villages, by concentrating appropriate places of residence into easily controlled nodes, would have allowed social groups to exert control over the movement of others in ways unimaginable in a past dominated by settlement decision making made at a household or other small-scale level. These changes may have become even more important as large parts of the northern Southwest

were depopulated in the late A.D. 1200s and population movement became increasingly pan-regional in scope (Schachner 2007).

Rather than forcing the archaeology of the El Morro Valley to conform to the standard model of Cibola community structure, a focus on diversity and regional differences illustrates that social groups had alternative visions of what the new local social systems in the El Morro Valley could be. The first migrants would have been forming new social networks without the local historical continuity and places found in the Cibola core (see Cobb and King 2005 for similar examples from the Southeast). As such, we should not expect them to have necessarily followed the same trajectory of change seen in core areas with long-term settlement histories. Due to the lack of local historical resources, such as Chaco-period great houses or even early Pueblo III versions of the same, the El Morro Valley in the mid-A.D. 1200s would have been a context relatively unfettered by the traditions of the past, where new types of community organization could be created and could persist.

It is in precisely these contexts of “tradition building” that dramatic breaks with the past are possible and likely to occur (Nelson 2000; Pauketat 2003). Resettlement and reconstitution of local networks of interaction are liminal moments when rules and resources are in flux and groups may be particularly effective at creating social change. Although new residents of the El Morro Valley likely shared similar ideas about many aspects of society, including community organization, the valley was largely undefined as a *place* of residence (see Cobb and King 2005) and lacked many of the local monuments and places that were fundamental aspects of the structures of communities in the Cibola core. The presence of a “clean slate” presented new residents with relative freedom to fundamentally change Cibola society in key ways. The “imagined” community approach encourages a focus on social diversity and differentiation and networks of interaction as primary sources of innovation and conflict over community definition during the process of creating new communities and histories.

The new residents of the El Morro Valley creatively drew upon past traditions while simultaneously inventing new traditions and social arrangements. Some invoked connections to the past, such as at Los Gigantes, while others constructed alternative visions of ritual centers, incorporating new types of structures, such as plazas. The pattern of fairly dispersed settlement in much of the valley was strongly similar to residential strategies in the past, but the newly founded nucleated sites represented a dramatic break with tradition. Construction of these sites created clearly defined community-level social groups and most likely reinforced internally focused interaction. The identity of “us” and “them” may have become much more clearly defined.

It seems hardly coincidental that some of the earliest nucleated villages arose in areas defined by population movement, such as the El Morro Valley. Nucleated pueblos became the primary settlement type over much of the northern Southwest by the late thirteenth century A.D., as populations across the Colorado Plateau rapidly constructed and occupied nucleated villages within a context characterized by interregional population movement, local settlement shifts, and conflict. These changes co-occurred with noteworthy changes in Pueblo iconography and the use of ritual structures indicative of fundamental shifts in communal ritual participation and meaning (Adams 1991; Crown 1994). The early founding of nucleated settlements in the El Morro Valley, an area that was settled primarily by migrants moving from nearby parts of the Cibola core, appears to be an early example of this process and may have helped spur it along elsewhere in the Cibola region. By examining the context of emergence of nucleated villages in the El Morro Valley, an “imagined approach” suggests that nucleated villages were not inevitable, but rather were the product of particular social histories and contexts.

The “imagined” community perspective encourages archaeologists to view the origins and maintenance of local social systems in new ways. In the El Morro case, this perspective has led my own research to focus on how different settlement forms were associated with other axes of variation (Schachner 2007). Does social diversity encourage innovation? Does the recruitment of new residents and potential allies affect how people construct ritual facilities and interact with other people? Is there temporal variation in how settlement clusters grow that is linked to differences in local social organization? The underlying temporal and spatial patterns in the El Morro record would likely be masked by attempting to define “natural” communities with fixed spatial characteristics, boundaries, and identities. The short occupation span and lack of temporal depth in the El Morro Valley allow for the analysis of local social systems at the point of creation. By focusing on the details of spatial and temporal variation in community building, we can study how people drew upon and manipulated social diversity, interaction, and historical traditions so that local systems persisted and even thrived.

## NOTES

1. Although often held up as a paragon of Chaco-period great houses, it should be noted that much of the occupation at Village of the Great Kivas may date to the early Pueblo III period (A.D. 1150–1225). Evidence for later occupation includes extensive remodeling of the great house itself; the construction of a large, likely unroofed great kiva; and the presence of early Pueblo III White Mountain Red Ware (Roberts 1932).

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## Demography, Agricultural Potential, and Identity among Ancient Immigrants

*Patrick D. Lyons, J. Brett Hill, and Jeffery J. Clark*

Noting abundant evidence of precontact migrations in the American Southwest, a number of researchers have called for the development of more sophisticated models of ancient identity and interaction (Bernardini 2005; Duff 2002; Lyons 2003; Lyons and Clark 2008; Stone 2003). Current approaches can be characterized as either “interactionist” or “enculturationist” in emphasis. Elsewhere, we have described the interactionist and enculturationist programs in detail and have demonstrated that the differences between them reflect long-standing theoretical schisms (Clark 2001; Lyons 2003; Lyons and Clark 2008). Although both focus on the interplay of agency and structure, the interactionist perspective privileges the former, whereas the enculturationist perspective emphasizes the latter.

Working within an enculturationist framework, we first establish the presence of divergent cultural traditions (structure), the raw material of ethnicity (Barth 1998; Jenkins 1997:107). We then examine interaction (agency) between groups defined on the basis of shared cultural traditions. This approach allows us to model the social construction of communities and the expression of identity.

Barth (1998) has presented a model of ethnic identity as the “social organization of cultural difference,” and he argues that ethnicity always coincides in some way with culture. Ethnic groups, however, are not simply culture-bearing groups, and similarity in material culture may mask differences in ethnic identity. Likewise, a distinct ethnic identity can accommodate variation in material culture.

Based on current method and theory, we cannot yet predict the specific cultural traits that will be chosen as a basis for integration/differentiation

(Barth 1998:14). However, Barth's work, as well as ethnographic and archaeological case studies (Duff 2002; Kroskirty 1993; Lyons and Clark 2008; Stone 2003), suggests that demographic and historical factors affect the degree to which material culture variability reflects social boundaries. Thus, coresidence under different circumstances leads to the downplaying of certain differences and the strategic deployment of others. We assert that many different markers of ethnic identity will be employed under conditions of demographic stability and roughly equivalent group sizes, and/or within the context of relatively equal power relations. These will include highly visible badges of group membership, such as hairstyle, clothing, and certain architectural traits.

Conversely, under conditions of demographic imbalance or crisis, and/or severe differences in power, the symbols used (for self-ascription, as opposed to categorization by others) will be limited to those of a more flexible variety—phenomena easily emphasized or de-emphasized according to situational advantage or disadvantage. Arizona Tewa codeswitching, between the Arizona Tewa and Hopi languages, is an example of a persistent and yet flexible boundary marker (Kroskirty 1993). The degree to which badges of group membership are emphasized or de-emphasized in different demographic and historical contexts illustrates the interplay of agency and structure in the social construction and expression of group identity.

In this chapter, we contrast the ways immigrants expressed their identities in the Tonto Basin and the Lower San Pedro Valley (figure 10.1), where newcomers encountered differing opportunities for community formation and interaction during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The case studies we present illustrate how structuration both reproduced and transformed social identities in these two regions. In both instances, puebloan groups entered river basins where populations participating in the Hohokam regional system had lived for centuries. Local demographic and economic conditions, however, either constrained or empowered the expression of immigrant identities (Sewell 1992).

In the Tonto Basin, immigrants encountered a saturated social and economic environment where they were forced to either integrate into existing communities or to establish themselves in dispersed, marginal locations. As a consequence, these groups were socially marginalized—unable to express their distinct identities. In contrast, immigrants to the San Pedro Valley were able to establish their own communities in a context offering relatively abundant local resources and were free to set themselves apart in highly visible ways. Before examining these case studies in detail, we briefly outline the methods we use to identify ancient immigrants.

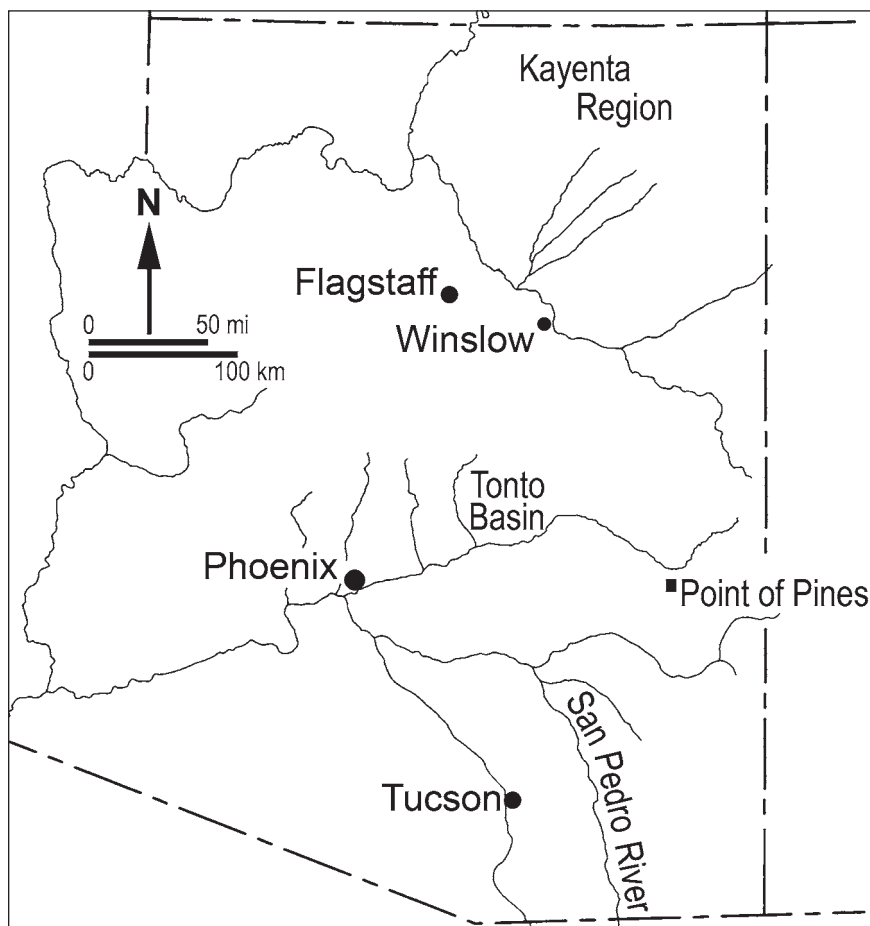


Figure 10.1. Map of Arizona showing the locations of places mentioned in the text. Base map drawn by Ronald J. Beckwith.

## INFERRING MIGRATION

Working from an enculturationist perspective, we take a step back from patterns in the archaeological record and address how to distinguish among the material traces of exchange, emulation, and migration. Following Binford (1965), Hegmon (1992), and Carr (1995a, 1995b), we assert that style may be a conscious (Wiessner 1983, 1984; Wobst 1977) or an unconscious expression of group identity (Sackett 1982). Some patterns associated with ethnic groups are purposeful, unstable, and conditional expressions of human agency. Other patterns are associated with enculturation and, thus, are relatively stable and uncon-



scious. Following Carr (1995a, 1995b; see also Clark 2001; Wobst 1977), we link the purposeful communication of ethnic identity to objects and attributes thereof with high physical and contextual visibility, and posit that enculturation structures most variation in low-visibility objects and attributes.

High-visibility objects and attributes are easily emulated and can be distributed widely without migration. Low-visibility objects and attributes have less messaging potential and are thus more static, less subject to careful scrutiny and reflection, and less likely to be imitated. Similarities in low-visibility objects and attributes reflect a common enculturative background, whereas differences are the result of stylistic or cultural drift. For these reasons, differences attributable to enculturation can be used to detect ancient immigrants.

These tenets have been tested through a cross-cultural analysis of ethnographically and ethnoarchaeologically recorded population movements. Based on sixty-one cases spanning five continents, Clark (2001:18) found domestic spatial organization, foodways, and technological styles reflected in the nondecorative production steps of pottery vessels, textiles, walls, and domestic installations to be most useful in tracking immigrants. Some aspects of more physically and contextually visible artifacts, however, such as the layouts of painted designs displayed by pottery vessels, are also well suited to study within the enculturationist framework.

## ENCULTURATION AND HIGH-VISIBILITY PHENOMENA

Many discussions of decorative and technological style assume that assemblage-scale stylistic patterns are attributable to learning/teaching frameworks that create differential transmission of information among potters (Carlson 1970:109; Hill 1970; Longacre 1970; Washburn 1977). Hardin's (1984; also see Friedrich 1970) work on decorative style suggests that some aspects are passive reflections of socialization. According to Hardin (Friedrich 1970; Hardin 1984), styles are learned, stored, viewed, and transmitted in terms of group-specific, mental stylistic "grammars." Such grammars, Hardin (1984:592) suggests, represent significant "barriers to visual communication" with outsiders. Hardin argues that styles or elements thereof may be borrowed and manipulated, but the act of manipulation usually entails reference to the borrower's repertoire. This, she insists, is because styles are cognitively based and are analyzed differently by different groups. Hardin (Friedrich 1970) notes that whereas design elements or configurations (what others call "pattern," e.g., Carlson 1970:85) may be transmitted from potter to potter, or from pot to potter, with a minimum of interaction, their specific ("precisely correct") uses and the decorative division of space are not easily transmitted.

Social boundaries are marked by differences in the organization of decorative space, just as such boundaries are also often marked by differences in the organization of domestic space. Hardin (Friedrich 1970; Hardin 1984) and Washburn (1977, 1978, 2001) suggest that group membership will be reflected in the rules of design composition. It seems wise, therefore, to conceive of rules for the division of decorative space (i.e., layout) as reflective of the process of enculturation. This is a powerful approach when coupled with fine-grained knowledge of pottery production, distribution, and recovery context (Shepard 1985:336–47, Table 11; see also Montgomery and Reid 1990; Triadan 1997; Zedeño 1994, 2002).

### **CORESIDENTENCE AND IDENTITY IN THE TONTO BASIN**

A tremendous amount of archaeological research has been conducted in the Tonto Basin over the past 20 years, particularly in the eastern portion of the basin, along the Salt River (Elson et al. 1994; Elson, Stark, and Gregory 1995; Jacobs 1994; Lindauer 1996b, 1997). Nearly every Classic-period settlement along this 6.5-km stretch of the Salt River, as well as a number of pre-Classic settlements, has been investigated.

Throughout the pre-Classic period, the people of the Phoenix Basin and the Middle Gila River valley heavily influenced the local inhabitants of the eastern Tonto Basin. This influence involved exchanging buff ware pottery and sharing ideology, the latter marked primarily by the Hohokam cremation mortuary complex and associated paraphernalia. The presence of courtyard-group domestic spatial organization and “house-in-pit” construction, and the local production of utilitarian ceramic forms, such as flare-rimmed bowls, indicate that Hohokam influence extended beyond trade and contact to include migration (Elson and Lindeman 1994; Stark, Vint, and Heidke 1995). Several of these groups settled at Meddler Point, in the eastern basin, around A.D. 750. By the late 1200s, a deeply rooted community had developed, with a farmstead or a small hamlet located on virtually every major ridge overlooking this portion of the Salt River.

The case for puebloan immigration into this community during the late thirteenth century is supported by multiple lines of evidence, including intrusive forms of domestic spatial organization and technological styles reflected in utilitarian pottery and architecture (Clark 2001; Stark, Clark, and Elson 1995). By the late 1200s, the entire eastern Tonto Basin population was residing in multi-room surface buildings. Two distinctive, yet contemporaneous, traditions of domestic spatial organization are evident. The tradition associated with the local group is characterized by walled compounds containing

noncontiguous rooms arranged around a central courtyard (figure 10.2, upper). This compound tradition is similar in spatial organization to that of earlier pit-house courtyard groups, suggesting that the inhabitants were descendants of the pre-Classic residents of the area. This was the dominant form of domestic spatial organization at Meddler Point during the late thirteenth century.

The intrusive tradition of domestic spatial organization is characterized by contiguous rooms typically built in lines of four or five structures (figure 10.2, lower). The largest settlements associated with this tradition, Griffin Wash (Swartz and Randolph 1994) and Saguaro Muerto (Lindauer 1994), were roomblocks built in multiple construction episodes. These units differ in spatial organization from compounds and are similar in form and development to contemporaneous pueblos located to the north and east of the Tonto Basin.

Initial compound-building episodes employed upright cobble, post-reinforced adobe walls that differed little from jacal walls associated with earlier pit houses. In subsequent compound-construction episodes, coursed cobble-and-adobe masonry was increasingly used. In contrast, roomblocks utilized coursed masonry to the near exclusion of post-reinforced construction, again indicating the nonlocal origins of the builders. At Griffin Wash, the largest of the suspected immigrant enclaves, the enclosure containing the initial roomblock was built with coursed masonry that employed shaped sandstone slabs. Nearly 50 percent of the rooms at Griffin Wash were built using high-elevation wood species, such as pine and firs (Elson et al. 1995). This wood assemblage is not found in compound rooms, and the nearest source is the Sierra Ancha, some twenty-five kilometers to the north.

Tonto Corrugated is a utilitarian type locally manufactured using the coil-and-scrape method characteristic of puebloan groups and distinct from the paddle-and-anvil technique employed by local potters. Tonto Corrugated is concentrated at roomblock settlements in the eastern Tonto Basin and is generally a rare occurrence at compounds. This finding is consistent with the hypothesis that roomblocks were occupied by immigrants, and compounds were occupied by local groups.

Although larger than compounds, Pueblo enclaves comprised only seven of the fifty-one settlements in the eastern Tonto Basin, suggesting that the scale of immigration was limited. In addition, enclaves are found only on the edges of the settlement system. Hence, the households that occupied these units represented a minority population, no more than 25 percent by room count (Doelle 1995: Figure 7.3). This pattern suggests that the newcomers did not disrupt local community organization immediately after their arrival. Considering their status as a minority, the immigrants may have been margin-

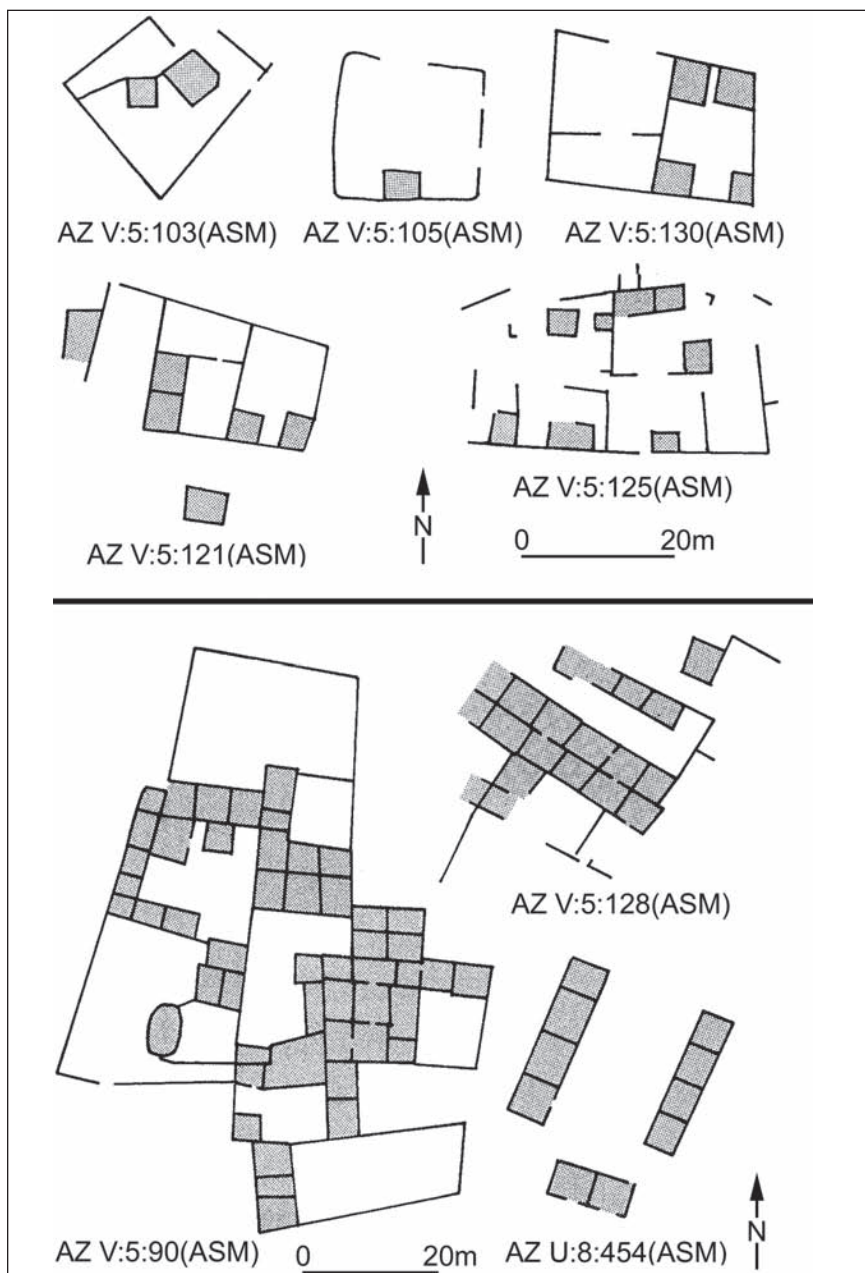


Figure 10.2. Examples of compound architecture (upper) and roomblock architecture (lower) in the Tonto Basin. Drawn by Ronald J. Beckwith. AZ V:5:90 is Griffin Wash Locus A, and AZ V:5:128 is Saguaro Muerto.

alized with respect to social status and land ownership. The probable origins of most immigrants are the southern Colorado Plateau and the mountainous country north and east of the Tonto Basin. The absence of kivas and great kivas within their settlements suggests they did not actively and publicly express their native ideologies.

Griffin Wash was established on the western edge of the community. Locals may have tolerated a large settlement of immigrants in this area because it served as a buffer against the large Armer Ranch community, roughly five kilometers to the west. Considering the size of this enclave, it may have been a relatively autonomous settlement, and those who lived there may have been hard pressed to meet their subsistence needs directly.

Salado Red, a red-slipped (exterior), smudged (interior), and more finely manufactured version of Tonto Corrugated, is one of most common utilitarian types in early Classic-period contexts throughout the lower Tonto Basin. Petrographic analysis suggests that nearly all of this pottery was made in the Sierra Ancha foothills and adjacent terraces north of the Salt River and east of Tonto Creek (Stark and Heidke 1995). This area was filling up with immigrants during the late thirteenth century, including those who established the Griffin Wash enclave. With limited access to optimal agricultural land in the floodplain, the immigrants at Griffin Wash may have specialized, at least on a part-time basis, in the manufacture of Salado Red and exchanged this pottery for food surpluses produced by local farmers who owned the best agricultural land.

The only forms of ceremonial architecture constructed in the eastern Tonto Basin during this interval were platform mounds associated exclusively with local settlements. These were virtually identical, though smaller in scale, to mounds built in the Phoenix Basin, suggesting continued relations with the Hohokam core region during the Classic period. Although Tonto Basin platform mounds may have served local integrative needs, several lines of evidence suggest that immigrants also may have participated in mound-related ceremonies. If true, this monumental architecture may have been a reminder of the firstcomer status of local groups. Participation by immigrants in mound ceremonies organized by local groups would have reinforced this guest-host relationship, legitimizing land tenure and economic arrangements. During this interval, there is little evidence in the form of high-visibility material culture that immigrants were overtly signaling their distinct cultural backgrounds. Instead, they were trying to “fit in,” providing useful goods and services to locals in return for tolerance of their presence.

Nearly all of the settlements in the eastern Tonto Basin were depopulated by the early 1300s, only two or three generations after the first influx of immigrants. A significant portion of the population left the area, and the remainder and/or new groups formed a large aggregated settlement at Schoolhouse

Point. The cultural background(s) of the inhabitants of this settlement is a matter of debate. Some hypothesize replacement of local groups by immigrants (Ciolek-Torrello 1997:553), and others suggest aggregation of local groups (Lindauer 1996:381) or mixing of both populations (Rice et al. 1998: Figure 4.22). Although the role that immigrant-local relations played in this upheaval is unclear, attempts to integrate the two groups may have ultimately failed, especially if the immigrant population increased to the point where it could challenge its marginalized status and assert its own identities.

## **CORESIDENTENCE AND IDENTITY IN THE SAN PEDRO RIVER VALLEY**

An overview of past archaeological work in the San Pedro River valley has recently been presented by Clark et al. (2007; also see Doelle et al. 1999), and this synthesis is the basis for the summary presented here. A survey of the lower valley between 1990 and 1995 resulted in the discovery of 442 sites and the relocation of 117 previously recorded sites (Doelle and Wallace 1997; Wallace and Doelle 2001). Test excavations were conducted at 29 of these sites between 1999 and 2001. This work was designed, in part, to examine the relationship between northern immigrants and the Salado phenomenon (Doelle et al. 1999; Miksa and Doelle 1998).

Based on patterns in settlement location, architecture, and ceramics, four Lower San Pedro Valley archaeological districts have been defined (figure 10.3) (Clark and Lyons 2007; Lyons 2007). A four-phase chronological sequence for the period A.D. 1150–1450 has also been established: Soza phase (circa A.D. 1150/1200–1250/1275), Aravaipa phase (circa A.D. 1250/1275–1300/1325), Redfield phase (circa A.D. 1300/1325–1350/1375), and Romero phase (circa A.D. 1350/1375–1425/1450). The Romero phase can be further subdivided into early and late intervals based in part on the presence and frequency of Cliff Polychrome (Lyons 2004a).

The excavated pottery assemblage comprises nearly 45,000 sherds, more than 2,000 of which were assigned to temper groups based on binocular stereoscopic analysis. Provenance was determined through reference to a petrofacies model of the entire 87-km-long San Pedro River valley and its major tributary, Aravaipa Creek (Miksa et al. 2003).

### **Culture History Summary**

By A.D. 750, the lower valley, especially the Aravaipa District, was densely occupied by groups participating in the Hohokam regional system, marked by house-in-pit domestic architecture, cremation of the dead,

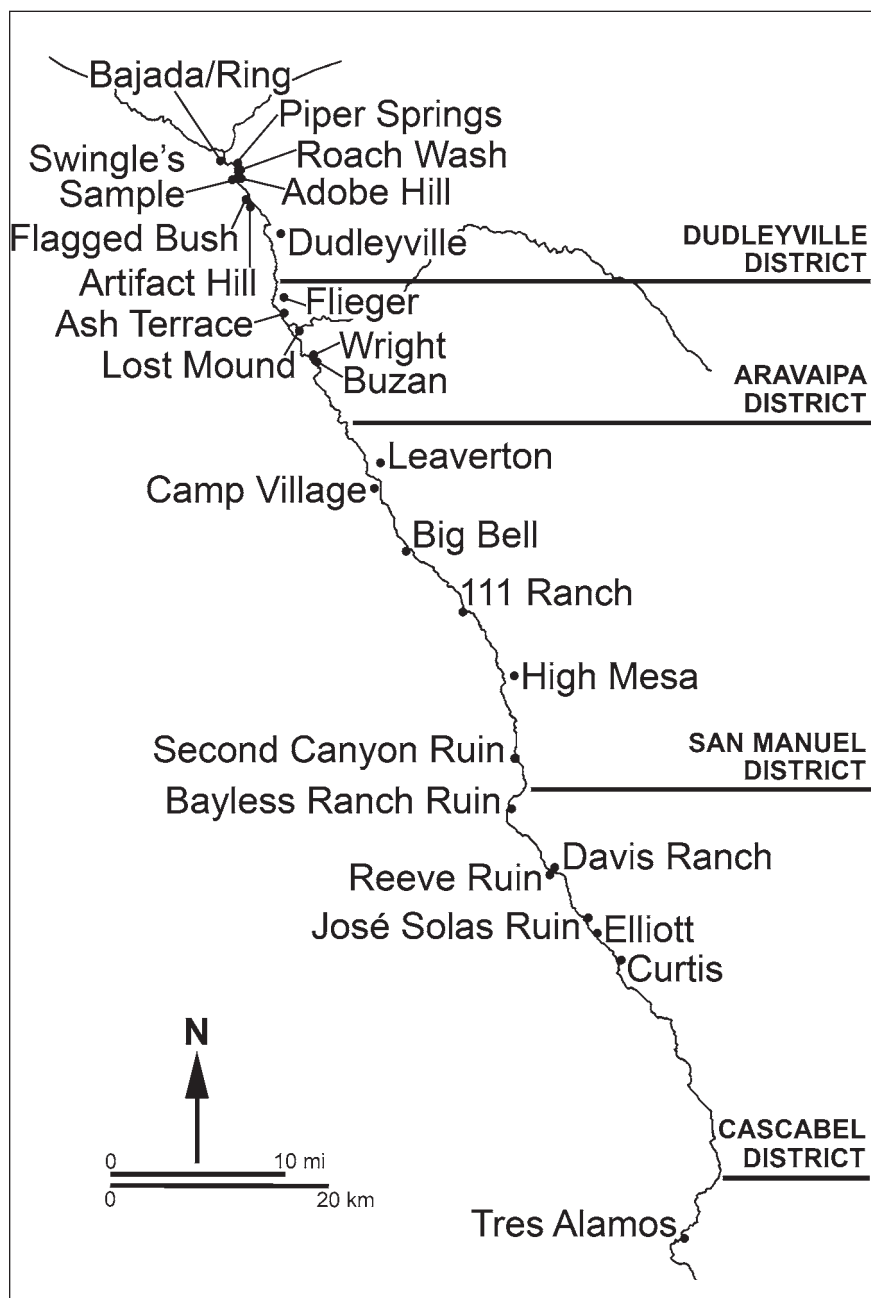


Figure 10.3. Map of the Lower San Pedro River valley, showing excavated sites and district boundaries.

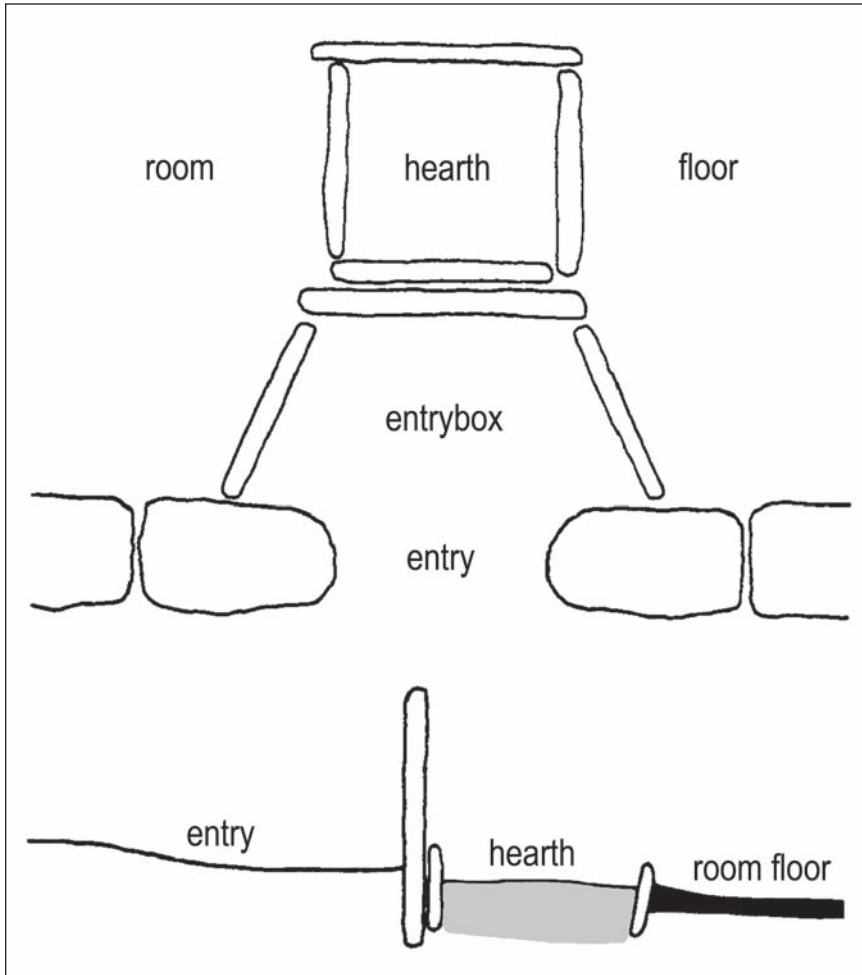
a locally produced version of Middle Gila Buff Ware, and, eventually, ballcourts. A transition to residential compounds, like those in the Phoenix and Tonto basins, began in the early 1200s. In the late 1200s, approximately coeval with the building of platform mounds, small enclaves of immigrants from northern Arizona established themselves within existing communities in the San Manuel and Dudleyville districts. More sizeable and separate immigrant communities were founded in the Cascabel District. Soon afterward, local production of Roosevelt Red Ware began, and these types eventually replaced the local, “Hohokam-related” decorated pottery tradition, San Carlos Red-on-brown. At about the same time, and for the first time in the precontact sequence, obsidian appeared in significant quantities.

During the mid-1300s, the majority of the San Manuel District was depopulated, with population coalescing in communities to the north and south, in the Aravaipa, Dudleyville and Cascabel districts. By the late 1300s, the Cascabel and San Manuel districts were vacant. The groups that continued to occupy the lower valley coalesced in the Aravaipa and Dudleyville districts to the north. The latest occupied precontact sites were depopulated by A.D. 1450–1475 and seem to have been occupied by the descendants of both local groups and immigrants.

### **Immigrants in the Cascabel District**

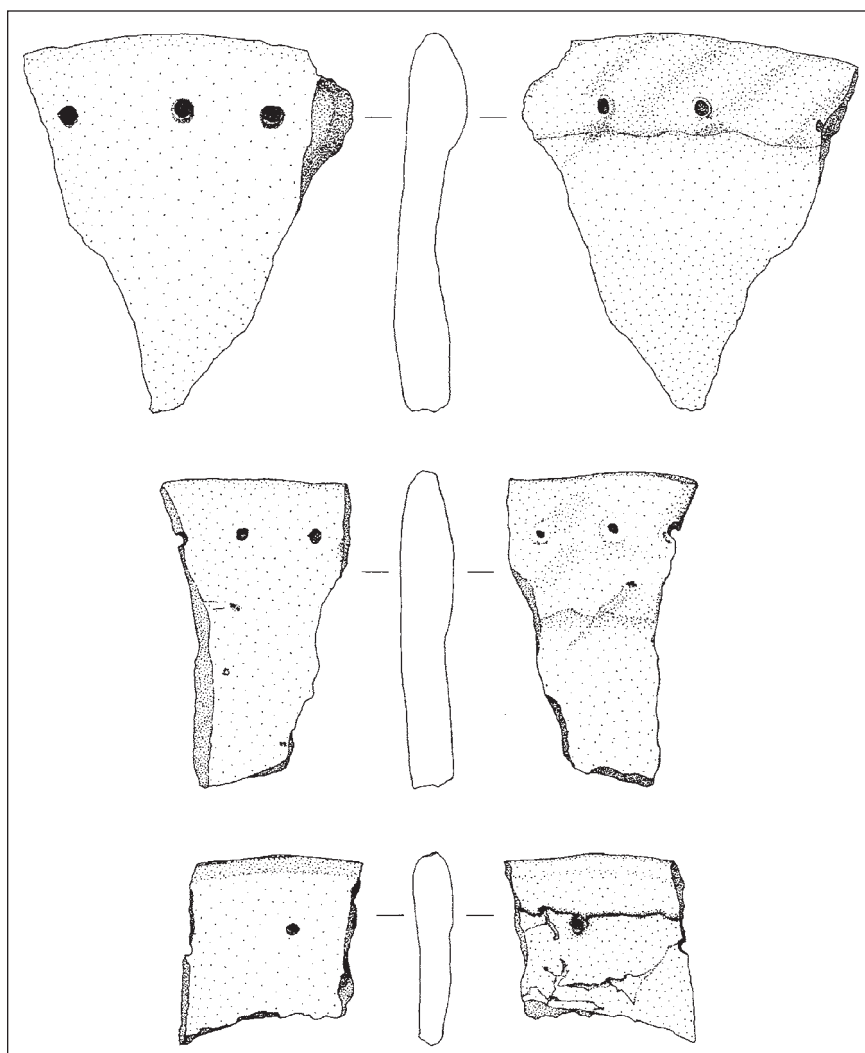
At Reeve Ruin and the Davis Ranch site, Di Peso (1958) and Gerald (1958) documented some of the most compelling evidence of ancient migration yet recovered in the southern Southwest. These settlements exhibit many architectural traits and artifacts that indicate they were established and occupied by immigrants from the Kayenta and/or Tusayan regions of northern Arizona (Lindsay 1969, 1987; Lindsay et al. 1968; Lindsay and Dean 1983; Lyons 2003; Lyons and Lindsay 2006). These include pueblo-like room-block architecture, the Kayenta entrybox complex (figure 10.4), rectangular slab-lined hearths, mealing bins, perforated-rim earthenware plates (figure 10.5), and Maverick Mountain Series decorated pottery (types made in central and southern Arizona using vessel-forming technology and exhibiting color schemes and painted decoration characteristic of vessels made on the Colorado Plateau) (Colton 1955; Lindsay 1992; Morris 1957). In addition, one site is constructed of stacked-stone masonry, and the other yielded roof beams of fir and pine. The latter site also exhibits a rectangular kiva similar to those found at Tsegi-phase sites in the Kayenta region and villages on the Hopi Mesas (figure 10.6). We encountered many of these same indicators of northern groups at the nearby José Solas Ruin (Lyons 2004b).





**Figure 10.4.** Plan and profile of the Kayenta entrybox complex. Redrawn after Lindsay (1969:Figure 19) by Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh.

Before the immigrant influx, the Cascabel District was sparsely occupied. A disjunction is evident in the spatial distributions of many different archaeological phenomena at this location in the valley. The southern terminus of the Classic-period platform-mound system, the southernmost pre-Classic Hohokam ballcourt, and the boundary between San Simon Series pottery (to the north) and Dragoon Series pottery (to the south) all fall in this zone between the modern communities of Redington and Benson (Doelle and Wallace 1997; Wallace and Doelle 2001). The northern edge of the distribution



**Figure 10.5.** Fragments of perforated plates (one-half actual size). Drawn by R. Jane Sliva.

of the Babocomari pottery tradition and associated architectural traits also occurs here. This unique social setting may explain why the immigrants who settled in the Cascabel District were able to create their own separate community and to freely express the ritual traditions of their homeland, manifest as kivas (Lyons and Clark 2008). We attribute 120 rooms built and occupied between A.D. 1300 and 1400 to immigrants who settled at Reeve Ruin, the



**Figure 10.6.** Kiva at the Davis Ranch site, in the Lower San Pedro River valley. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona.

Davis Ranch site, José Solas Ruin, and others in the Cascabel district. This translates into a momentary population of 190 people.

Each of these sites has yielded large quantities of perforated plates. Recovery context, residues, usewear, and ethnographic analogy suggest that these objects were used by potters as base-molds and/or turntables, although the exact function of the holes themselves remains a subject of debate (Christenson 1991, 1994; Lyons and Lindsay 2006).

The estimated momentary population of Reeve Ruin is 48 people, and 177 perforated plates were recovered, meaning that there were nearly four plates per person. At the Davis Ranch site, we estimate the presence of 74 people, and 277 plates were recovered, resulting in a similar ratio. Assuming that perforated plates are pottery-manufacturing tools, this pattern supports Crown's (1994) assertion that the origin of Roosevelt Red Ware can be traced to northern immigrants who became part-time specialist pottery producers.

The results of the petrographic analysis are also consistent with this inference (Lyons et al. 2005; Lyons and Lindsay 2006). Temper from the same petrofacies, located in the Cascabel and San Manuel districts, was used to produce nearly all of the perforated plates and Maverick Mountain Series pottery in the sample. These same tempers are dominant among the Roosevelt Red Ware specimens subjected to provenance analysis. Despite the fact

that Roosevelt Red Ware accounts for more than 55 percent of the decorated pottery in the sample from sites in the Aravaipa District, where local groups remained dominant, only a miniscule amount was produced there. Instead, the Roosevelt Red Ware that circulated to the Aravaipa District during the early 1300s was made in the San Manuel and Cascabel districts. Later, after the depopulation of these areas, the inhabitants of the Dudleyville District were responsible for Roosevelt Red Ware production.

Obsidian was much more common at sites inhabited by immigrants than at sites built and occupied by local groups. Based on a sourcing study that employed EDXRF (Shackley and Gallop 2002), much of this material originated in the Safford Basin, a location long assumed to lie along the route followed by immigrants from the north (Clark et al. 1999). These facts suggest that the newcomers maintained control of this resource and exchanged it with the local population.

### **A New Community**

By the end of the precontact San Pedro sequence, the pervasive material differences that separated local groups and immigrants had fallen away. During the Romero phase, the local decorated-pottery tradition was replaced at all sites by Roosevelt Red Ware. Most late Romero-phase villages consist of roomblocks, a northern architectural form. However, they were constructed in the local technological style, using rock-reinforced, coursed adobe. These sites lack kivas, and by this time, the kivas at Reeve Ruin and the Davis Ranch site had been “decommissioned” (Lyons et al. 2006; Walker 1995). However, the late Romero-phase sites are located near a late-occupied platform-mound village, the Flieger Ruin. Perhaps the inhabitants of the Romero-phase roomblocks participated in ceremonial activities at the platform-mound village. After generations of close interaction, a new identity may have emerged that incorporated elements of both migrant and local traditions. This may have been a last-ditch effort to maintain a viable community in the face of declining population (Hill et al. 2004).

### **Summary: Coresidence and Identity in the San Pedro Valley**

Many lines of evidence suggest that during the late Classic period, the San Pedro Valley was occupied by at least two different social groups: one with a long history in the valley and strong connections to the inhabitants of the Hohokam core, and recent immigrants from northern Arizona. Traces of the immigrants are most numerous and most visible in the Cascabel District, on the edge of the local settlement system.

Upon arriving in the Cascabel District, the northerners built homes and a ritual structure like those they had left behind. The newcomers became part-time specialist pottery producers, making Roosevelt Red Ware and exchanging it with locals. Immigrants also seem to have controlled the movement of obsidian within the valley.

After reaching its maximum geographical extent and peak population between 1300 and 1325, the settlement system gradually contracted, until only a few nearby sites were occupied. The inhabitants of these sites appear to represent the combined remnants of local and immigrant groups who, for the most part, had formerly lived in separate settlements within the valley. The local platform-mound ritual integrative system seems to have survived this reorganization, but kiva ceremonialism, introduced by the immigrants, did not.

## DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISON OF THE STUDY AREAS

The arrival of immigrants in the Tonto Basin and the San Pedro Valley took place under very different demographic circumstances, with different opportunities for agricultural expansion. Research in the Lower San Pedro provided a comprehensive picture of settlement distribution and site size, allowing us to model population with a relatively high degree of confidence. The procedures we employed and our findings are described in detail elsewhere (Hill et al. 2004).

Our model indicates a total population in the Lower San Pedro of about 1,200 people at A.D. 1200. Population was broadly distributed through sixty-nine sites along the approximately one hundred kilometer length of the valley, with light occupation of the upland bajada area. Although the arrival of immigrants in the late 1200s and early 1300s resulted in a significant reorganization of settlement and material culture patterns in the valley, the actual number of people involved was modest. Subtracting a 0.1 percent annual internal growth, our calculations indicate no more than 150–300 immigrants moved to the San Pedro Valley. They primarily established themselves in discrete locations somewhat removed from the indigenous settlements. This new occupation was focused on the valley bottom, in areas with substantial irrigable floodplain land that appears to have been in only light use previously.

Demographic modeling in the Tonto Basin is more problematic. Although a great deal more large-scale excavation has occurred in the Tonto Basin than in the San Pedro, the picture of settlement distribution and chronology is not as clear. This situation arises in part from a lack of comprehensive, basin-wide evaluation, such as that conducted in the San Pedro, and in part from the

sheer magnitude of the archaeological record of the Tonto Basin. Whereas the total settlement distribution along the San Pedro consists of 97 Classic-period sites in a stretch of valley bottom approximately 100 km in length, the Tonto Basin record consists of at least 570 sites along about 60 km of valley bottom and adjoining bajada. Of these 570 sites, only 185 have reasonably precise estimates of size, and even fewer are precisely dated. Nonetheless, the sheer magnitude of the disparity in site numbers and study-area size points toward significant differences in the natural and social environments encountered by immigrants to these places.

In a previous study, Doelle (1995) estimated the number of households at valley-bottom sites in the Tonto Basin. His preferred population estimate for A.D. 1200 was approximately 2,700 people, or 125 percent greater than the Lower San Pedro. His preferred estimate for peak population, circa A.D. 1300, was approximately 3,150 people, or 113 percent greater than the San Pedro. To provide a more direct comparison between the two areas, we focused on room counts and determined for the 185 Tonto Basin sites with size estimates, that the total Classic-period room count was about 2,000 structures. Using modeling techniques similar to those employed in the San Pedro, we could infer a maximum population of about 3,200 people, a figure remarkably close to Doelle's estimate. A significant concern with these estimates, however, has to do with nearly three hundred poorly documented, primarily upland sites. These typically are small and represent predominantly short-term or seasonal occupations. To avoid "double counting" of seasonally occupied sites, Doelle excluded these from his calculations.

Although it is likely that many of these sites were used by the same people inhabiting larger valley-bottom settlements, it also seems plausible that some represent the primary habitations for a number of immigrants who arrived in the basin during the late A.D. 1200s and early 1300s. As many as one hundred of these sites have indications of multiple rooms, ranging from two to more than forty. Many date to the Roosevelt phase, when there is evidence for a significant influx of immigrants. Some of these sites would have been permanently occupied and must be accounted for in population estimates. Even the most conservative estimate would suggest the presence of several hundred additional people. The addition of this number to previous population estimates pushes peak Tonto Basin population into the 3,500 to 4,000 range, or 135 to 170 percent greater than the San Pedro. Subtracting 0.1 percent annual internal growth, these estimates place the number of immigrants in the Tonto Basin between 500 and 1,000 people. Thus, an approximately equal number of immigrants, relative to the number of locals present, arrived in the San Pedro Valley and the Tonto Basin.

## SUBSISTENCE COMPARISON OF THE STUDY AREAS

Settlement distribution and botanical evidence indicate early Classic-period populations focused primarily on irrigation-based maize agriculture in both the San Pedro and the Tonto Basin. To evaluate the options available to growing populations in these two areas, calculations of arable land were made using ArcGIS with digital terrain data and modeling concepts similar to those used by Craig (1995) in the Tonto Basin. To calculate the amount of floodplain available for irrigation, we first prepared a hillshade view of the digital elevation model (DEM) of the two regions. This allowed visual interpretation of the floodplain, which was then digitized as a polygon for area calculations.

### **Tonto Basin Agriculture**

The total area of floodplain in the Tonto Basin within 5 km of Classic-period habitation sites was 6,025 ha. In the absence of detailed studies of soil productivity, it is not possible to make refined estimates of agricultural potential. However, large parts of the floodplain are currently productive and may be assumed to have been productive in the past. Van West and Altschul (1994) suggest that 50–90 percent of potential land may have been unsuitable for cultivation due to variability in soils, vegetation, terrain, and other factors. Subtracting this range of area leaves between 603 and 3,013 ha of floodplain suitable for cultivation.

Estimates of the amount of land needed by precontact Southwestern farmers to subsist range from 0.17 to 1.6 ha per person per year (Craig 1995). These values undoubtedly are variable, depending on soil and water conditions, climate, and other contributions to diet, such as hunting and foraging. For present purposes, a figure of 0.6 ha per person per year is a reasonable approximation, and thus approximately 2,100 ha of land would be required to meet subsistence needs. Dividing the 603–3,013 ha of available land by a population of 3,500 persons leaves between 0.17 and 0.86 ha of arable floodplain available per person. Based on these estimates, the subsistence needs of the Tonto Basin population would have placed a considerable demand on floodplain resources and may well have taxed them beyond capacity.

Two additional factors must be taken into consideration with regard to available agricultural options in the Tonto Basin. One important quality of floodplain cultivation is that the irrigation potential of the floodplain within the basin varied considerably. The Salt River drains a much larger watershed and has significantly greater and more consistent flow than Tonto Creek. In addition, the Salt River floodplain is shorter in length but wider than that of Tonto Creek. These differences create an environment in which the best



land for cultivation is concentrated along an approximately twenty-kilometer length of the Salt River, while the remaining forty kilometers of available floodplain is of inferior quality. The higher-quality land along the Salt River was where the majority of the indigenous population was settled when immigrants from the northeast began to arrive in the basin.

A second aspect of agriculture in the Tonto Basin that merits discussion is upland farming. A large number of check dams and other upland agricultural features are present. During the pre-Classic period, all but one of these agricultural features were less than 2.5 km from the major watercourses. There are fifty-five recorded Classic-period sites, but these range between four and fifteen kilometers from the major watercourses. It stands to reason that settlers of Classic-period sites in locations that were several kilometers from the floodplain did not focus on floodplain agriculture but rather cultivated fields in nearby upland locations. Dry and runoff farming were common agricultural technologies throughout the upland Southwest during the period in question (Vivian 1974), especially along the Mogollon Rim, directly above the Tonto Basin (Lightfoot and Plog 1984; Tuggle et al. 1984; Woodbury 1961).

The rapid development of upland areas in the Tonto Basin during the Classic period appears to have been short-lived, however. In the late 1200s, settlement shifted again toward the lowlands (Crary et al. 1992; Curtis 1992; Wood and McAllister 1984). Most of the small upland sites appear to have been depopulated by the Gila phase, when settlement again became focused on the valley bottomlands. This transition has been attributed to a hypothesized degradation of upland soils, leading to crop failure (Wood 1989; Wood and McAllister 1984). Calculations of potential soil loss in the vicinity of upland Classic-period sites using the Universal Soil Loss Equation (Wischmeir and Smith 1978) indicate a 55–200 percent increase in the rate of erosion from that found around pre-Classic sites, supporting the idea that upland degradation forced people to abandon agriculture in those locations.

The picture of land use that emerges from the Tonto Basin is of an already heavily populated area that was entered by a large number of immigrants, who either had to integrate into existing communities or attempt to settle less desirable lands. Within a short time, a large portion of these less desirable lands was depopulated, probably due in part to unsustainable agricultural practices. This situation of competition and subsistence stress can be contrasted with that of the Lower San Pedro.

### **San Pedro Valley Agriculture**

Calculations of arable land in the San Pedro indicate 12,985 ha of floodplain within 5 km of Classic-period sites. Unlike the Tonto Basin, the San Pedro



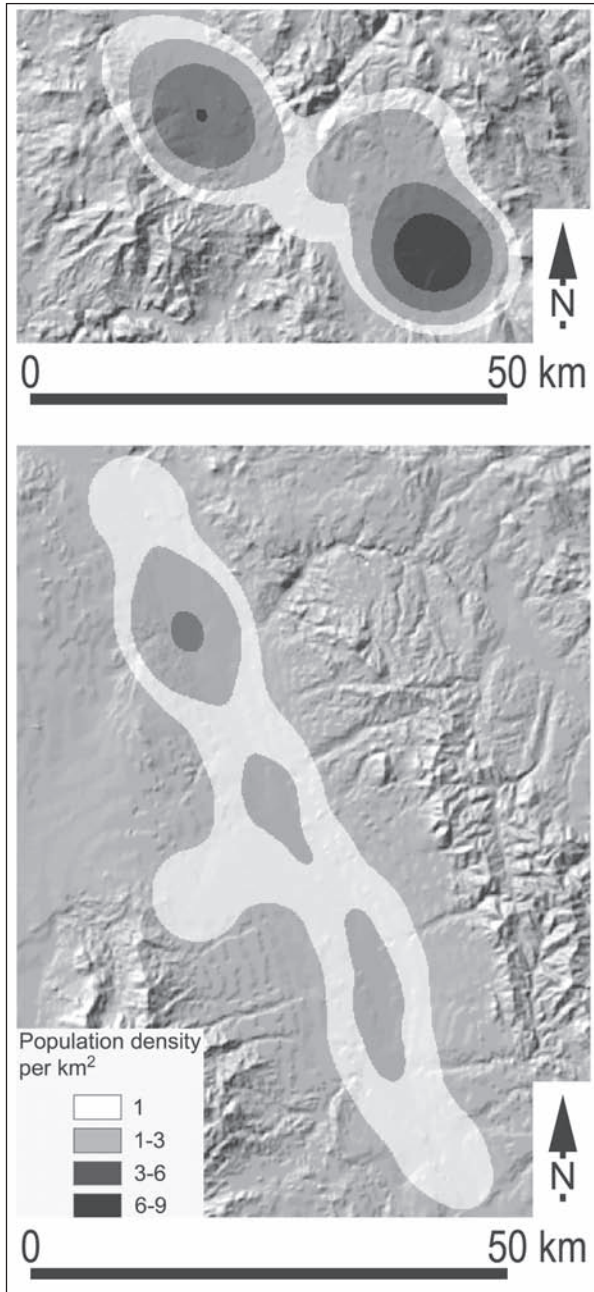
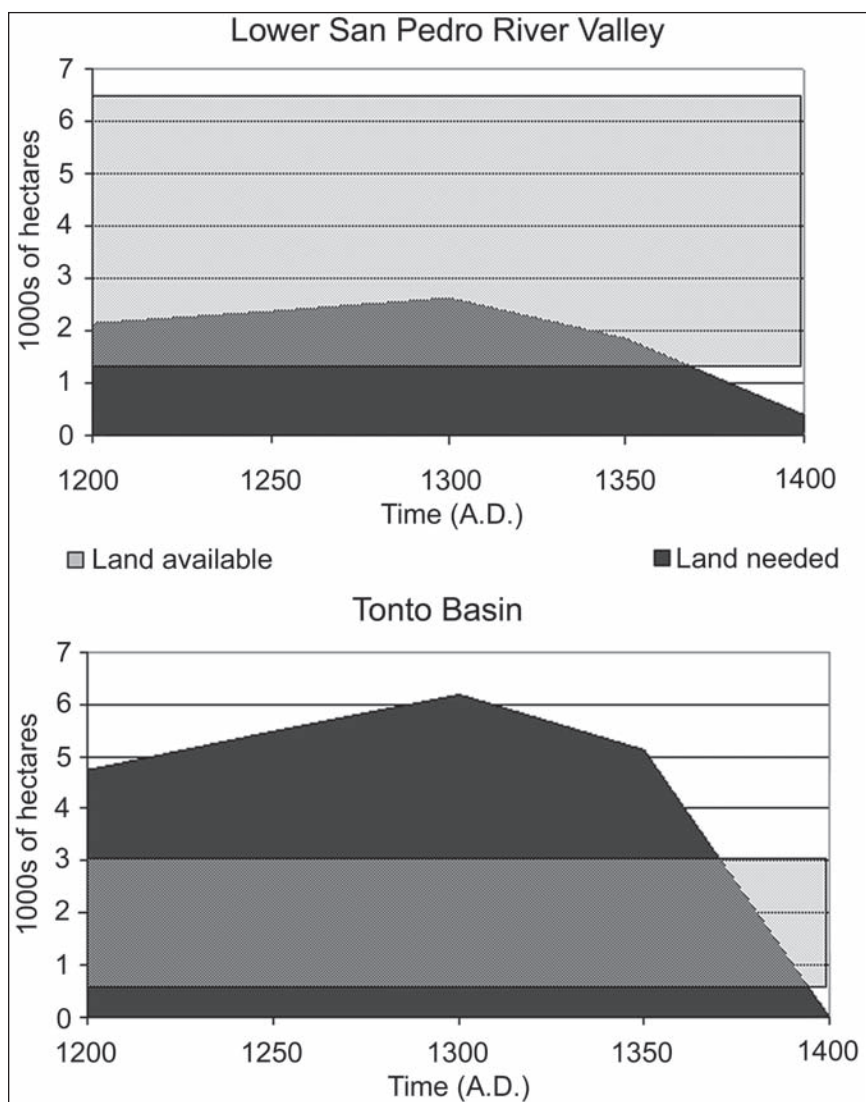


Figure 10.7. Comparison of population density in the Tonto Basin (upper) and the Lower San Pedro Valley (lower).



**Figure 10.8.** Comparison of required and available arable floodplain land in the Lower San Pedro Valley and the Tonto Basin.

appears to have had large unsettled areas of floodplain open to colonization by immigrants. If between 50 and 90 percent of this floodplain was unusable, there would still have been between 1,299 and 6,493 ha suitable for irrigation agriculture. The maximum population in the San Pedro would have had be-

tween 0.87 and 4.39 ha of floodplain land available per person, or more than five times as much as the inhabitants of the Tonto Basin, and well above the approximately 0.6 ha needed.

The San Pedro River moves less water and has a narrower floodplain than the best areas along the Salt River. But it is superior in these respects to Tonto Creek, thus offering less variable land quality and less opportunity for hierarchical resource control. Upland agriculture was practiced in the late pre-Classic and the early Classic periods in the San Pedro but appears to have been abandoned by the late 1200s, when it was reaching maximum expansion in the Tonto Basin. Even at peak population, the San Pedro Valley appears to have been capable of providing adequate food without much competition, offering more than twice as much arable land of relatively uniform quality to less than half as many people as the Tonto Basin (figures 10.7 and 10.8). The sharp contrast in access to such a fundamental resource, arable land, had important implications for the social construction of communities and identity in the two study areas.

## CONCLUSION

We have suggested that social and environmental factors, which can usefully be conceived as aspects of structure (schemas and resources), constrain and empower immigrant groups as they construct, reproduce, and express identities in the context of community formation (Sewell 1992). Our case studies demonstrate this by focusing on choices made regarding the overt expression of cultural differences. Currently available data suggest that population concentration and land tenure were the structural factors that most influenced this process in the Tonto Basin and the San Pedro Valley.

In the Tonto Basin, immigrants entered a community with a densely concentrated local population and an established land-tenure system limiting newcomers' access to key resources. In the San Pedro Valley, an open and very productive niche was exploited by immigrants. We argue that the different demographic situations and agricultural opportunities encountered by each group of immigrants account for their ability, in the San Pedro case, or inability, in the Tonto Basin case, to overtly express their identities within the context of the larger social landscape comprising by both locals and newcomers. The marginal status of those who immigrated to the Tonto Basin is reflected in the lack of high-visibility indicators of an intrusive ritual system. In contrast, the immigrants of the San Pedro Valley openly expressed their native ritual traditions in the form of kivas.

Previous researchers have suggested that the absence of kivas in the Tonto Basin is proof that northern immigrants were not present (Wood and McAllis-

ter 1982; Wood and Teague 1996). This premise reflects an outmoded model of cultural groups as collections of automatons. Individuals and groups made strategic choices and also did some things unconsciously. When an attempt is made to analytically separate these two classes of behavior—one more closely linked to agency and the other more directly reflective of structure (or perhaps more precisely, “deep structure”) (*sensu* Sewell 1992:22–27)—richer models of past social dynamics emerge.

Despite choosing to suppress purposeful displays of difference, immigrants to the Tonto Basin are visible to archaeologists based on more passive markers. Just as in the case of some modern immigrants who actively choose to learn the language of the host group and adopt local clothing styles, their origin as immigrants can be betrayed by largely unconscious schemas, such as accents, idioms, hand gestures, and table manners. Such disjunctions underscore the importance of considering the links between different kinds of material patterns and the various social processes that may have produced them.

It is interesting to consider the fact that the Roosevelt-phase Tonto Basin immigrants specialized in the manufacture of utilitarian pottery, whereas the newcomers to the San Pedro Valley produced and exchanged decorated pottery and likely were responsible for supplying local groups with obsidian. This, like the expression of native ritual traditions or the lack thereof, may reflect a difference in status. We infer that immigrants in the San Pedro, though not numerous, were able to negotiate a group identity that was associated with more social power than that of newcomers to the Tonto Basin.

Integration seems to have been much more successful along the San Pedro than in the Tonto Basin. Though the possibility of conflict in the San Pedro has been discussed, based on defensible settlement locations and defensive architectural features (Wallace and Doelle 2001), direct evidence of violence is much more abundant and compelling in the Tonto Basin (Oliver 2001; see also Simon and Gosser 2001). Indeed, in the former area, a new identity that blended aspects of immigrant and local traditions may have emerged near the end of the San Pedro Valley sequence. It seems that the last precontact-period inhabitants of the valley responded strategically to changes in human resources, especially declining population, by once again reformulating the social relationships at the heart of how they constructed their community.



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**SOCIAL THEORY AND  
SOUTHWESTERN COMMUNITIES**



## Structure and Agency in Southwest Archaeology

*Michelle Hegmon*

The vast majority of archaeologists and other anthropologists who discuss agency draw from, or at least, cite, Anthony Giddens, especially his *Central Problems in Social Theory* (1979) and *The Constitution of Society* (1984). Yet Giddens makes at least two important points that do not seem in accord with the majority of archaeological practice. First, at the core of his paradigm is the duality of structure and agency, which are seen as mutually constitutive. In contrast, in the archaeological literature, discussions of agency are much more numerous than mentions of structure (e.g., the SAA sessions and resultant volumes focusing on agency: Dobres and Robb 2000b; *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 2005, Volume 12[3&4]), a point emphasized by Varien and Potter in chapter 1. Second, while Giddens's explanation and definition of agency are somewhat elusive, he does make clear that agency should not be exclusively equated with intentionality (as I detail below). This also is at odds with much archaeological discussion, which tends to focus on intentionality, goals, or apparently deliberately transformative acts as instances of agency (e.g., Duff 2002:10; Schachner 2001; many of the papers in Dobres and Robb 2000a; *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 2004 14[1]). (For exceptions to these archaeological trends, see, for example, Tilley's [1982] explicit focus on structure creating the context/rules of individual actions; Dornan's [2002] review, which considers the issue of intentionality, Pauketat's [2001a] focus on practice and history; and Varien and Potter's discussion of agency in chapter 1.)

I use this chapter as a context in which to consider these issues more broadly. I focus primarily on agency in relation to structure, since that dynamic is at the core of the theory and is the stated goal of this volume. I have



argued elsewhere (Hegmon 2003) that the term “practice” seems to connote more focus on structure than does the term “agency”; however, since agency gets much more use, it is my focus here. In general, I am in agreement with Clark’s argument that “there is no theory dedicated solely to agency” (2000:97). I also agree with Joyce and Lopiparo’s statement that “whenever archaeologists manage to do analyses of agency right, we are simultaneously talking about agency and structure, since these are not alternatives, but inseparable parts of a single process (2005:365).

At the same time, I find that analyses of agency done “right” do not necessarily have to include explicit mention of structure (or even explicit mention of agency or of theory or of Anthony Giddens). It may be the case that general theory is most rapidly developed when both terms and their relationships are considered explicitly, but understandings of the workings of agency and structure in particular cases, many of which have broad theoretical relevance, can be advanced regardless of terminology. There are many ways of saying it, and ultimately many ways of knowing.

Intentionality has long been a philosophical conundrum. Only rarely do we act completely unconsciously, and only rarely do we perceive all of the consequences of our actions. I may “intend” to enjoy myself by eating chocolate fudge cake for breakfast, but I do not intend the blood-sugar crash that happens mid-morning, or the health problems that may develop years later. There are almost always unintended consequences, no matter how deliberately we act. Thus Giddens (1984:xxiii and *passim*) has emphasized the concept of “practical consciousness,” which implies that agents are knowledgeable (i.e., not unconscious) even if they do not (cannot) intend all of the consequences of their actions.

I believe that the key issue for archaeology is not so much intentionality in general, but the relationship of intentionality and structure: To what extent do agents intend to reproduce or transform structure through their actions? Obviously, we cannot fully answer this question even for ourselves, but there are some instances in which we can at least gain some insights into possible intentions. For example, ethnographically, Wiessner and Tumu (1998) describe how Enga big men imported or created new rituals for specific purposes (in one case, to keep potentially rebellious young men under control), and how the resultant rituals had both the intended and unintended consequences (such as increasing the participation of women). Archaeologically, the rapid development of new kinds of ritual structures in the Dolores River valley during the Pueblo I period is reasonably interpreted as a deliberate attempt to change the ritual organization (Schachner 2001). In another case, the construction of ritual structures at one time may have had far-reaching and unintended consequences for future ritual and political organization (Joyce 2004). In general,

I am in agreement with Dornan (2002), who argues that agency need not involve intentionality, but that intentional actions are a particularly interesting subset of agency. Overall, the key is that discussions of intentionality be linked to larger considerations of agency and structure.

One way to develop that agency-structure linkage is to consider the relationships among various scales. In a recent review of the archaeology of tribal societies, Fowles (2002) argues that archaeologists should focus on tribal *trajectories*, rather than static structures, and he notes the importance of considering trajectories at different temporal scales. He suggests that agency, especially acts deliberately intended to result in changes, is most important at the intra-generational scale. In contrast, structural changes, such as the institutionalization of a new form of leadership or ritual, primarily occur at the multigenerational level. This framework focuses attention toward understanding how agency—including, but not limited to, new forms of individual actions in the short term—do (or do not) result in long-term changes.

### AGENCY IS WHAT PEOPLE—WITH FACES—DO

Some of the earlier archaeological studies that developed perspectives akin to what we now consider to be agency involved the recognition that we are (or should be) studying *people*, rather than systems or social roles. This trend was apparent in the postprocessual emphasis on the “active individual” (Hodder 1986) as well as in Shanks and Tilley’s discussion of different forms of subjectivity (1987a: chapter 3); in gender studies’ attempts to study households and people with faces, rather than “faceless blobs” (Tringham 1990:94); as well as in a focus on agency as an explicit concept (Brumfiel 1993). Shennan (1993) also noted that although we can only rarely isolate the actions of particular individuals, this does not preclude us from considering agency. On the contrary, he argued that the archaeological record is an accumulation of the actions of individuals and thus is fairly directly informative of agency. And Hodder (1990) has argued that a focus on individuals—not simply the accumulation of many individual actions—should be the focus of archaeological perspectives on agency (however, see Johnson 1989 for a different perspective).

The archaeological record of the Southwest is, in many places, extraordinarily well preserved, and the resolution with which we are able to detect specific activities and changes over time is often very fine. Thus there are quite a few cases where archaeologists can gain insights into the particular activities of one individual or small group, such as a household, and thus can consider Fowles’s (2002) intra-generational processes. Examples in this

volume include Kuckelman's and Perry's chapters, especially as they trace the activities of specific individuals; and Ryan's chapter, which focuses on the households that constructed and used the great house at Albert Porter Pueblo. Elsewhere, thanks to detailed dating and accumulation studies, we can follow what one or a few households did as they built, used, modified, and eventually left a house or hamlet, such as the well-known Duckfoot site (Lightfoot 1994) or the sequence of occupations on the small northern Black Mesa sites known as D:11:2023, 2025, and 2027, which may be the result of one household moving every few years (see summary in Hegmon 1995:70). Some of the early work focused on identifying the individual in prehistory (Hill 1977) also drew on Southwestern cases. More recent work, which attempts to identify individual Mimbres artists (LeBlanc 2004) and the process of innovation in Mimbres pottery painting (Hegmon and Kulow 2005), takes this further and attempts to relate instances of agency to the larger structure, including the organization of production and the social implications of the design tradition.

According to Giddens (1984:9), "[a]gency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place . . . Agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently." From this perspective, observation of the material remains that resulted from the actions of an individual does not constitute a direct observation of agency. However, to the extent that the archaeological record allows glimpses into the events perpetuated by individuals (whether persons or organizational units, such as households or tribes), we can gain insights into agency. And if we consider the individuals' capability of doing those things, we necessarily also consider structure, which enables and constrains. The argument is not that agency is relevant only when we have extremely fine resolution. Rather, the rare high-resolution cases can provide general theoretical insights regarding the relationship of agency and structure.

These studies (as well as careful ethnography) provide insights into what people really did. That is, there are structurally defined roles—that we can perhaps identify analytically, and that people might recognize emically—but behavior does not necessarily conform to those roles. Insights into the (sometimes contradictory) relationship between behavior and structure were key to the early development of what we would now call a structure and agency perspective in anthropology (Kelly 1977; Sahlins 1981). A similar perspective is advanced by Fowles's (2005) recent work, which explores the apparent contradiction between an ideology (structure) of gender equality and praxis (agency) that involves significant inequalities among the Tiwa in northern

New Mexico. In another case, considering the spatiality of traditions and conflict, Chamberlin (2006), drawing especially on Schryer (2001), considers the process of “duplexity,” the meeting of internal and external definitions of identity, which are rarely isomorphic.

Variation that apparently “deviates” from the structure is interesting in and of itself, because it allows insights into what it means to be human. We are not automatons, but we don’t necessarily have free will. An understanding of variation in real human behavior is also theoretically significant with regards to its relationship with structure. That is, even if the variation seems to involve structural contradictions, at another level it can be seen as being enabled by structure. This is certainly the case with the issue of innovation, defined as a novelty that takes hold and thus influences/changes the structure. Furthermore, consideration of both apparent conformity and apparent contradiction leads to an understanding of the recursive relationship of agency and structure, of how agency contributes to the reproduction and potential transformation of structure.

## TRIBAL HISTORIES

The presence of many native tribal peoples in what is today the U.S. Southwest adds much to the richness of the area and its archaeology. The interest of these peoples in their ancestors and the involvement of tribal governments in the archaeology serve as constant reminders that the past was populated by people (not systems). This interest in what could be considered to be “agency” in archaeology is driven by motives other than trends in contemporary social theory, but in many ways the two come full circle. In fact, general interest by archaeologists in the histories of particular tribes (in contrast to treating prehistoric peoples as bits of data [Trigger 1980]) developed roughly contemporaneously with interest in agency as a theoretical concept.

In the Southwest, research on tribal histories more and more frequently involves tribal members as participants and collaborators, rather than simply informants. There are numerous examples: Duke’s (1995) work on local history in southwestern Colorado involved Ute tribal members, who participated in designing the research questions and were involved in the fieldwork. Dongoske et al. (1997) introduced archaeologists to a whole new perspective on tribal formation and identity by incorporating Hopi and Zuni accounts of their histories. Research in the San Pedro River valley has combined traditional archaeological perspectives with the insights of members of at least four different tribes (e.g., Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006). Adler (2005) is beginning a collaborative project focusing on Hummingbird Pueblo

and multiple perspectives on cultural affiliation in northern New Mexico. Another example is Crow Canyon's collaboration with their Native American advisory group on a variety of research and education products.

These studies, like those that trace the actions of an individual or small group, do not always discuss agency or theory explicitly, but they have theoretical relevance in at least two respects. First, archaeologists have increasingly become interested, at a general theoretical level, in issues that are also key to tribal histories, including ethnicity and identity (e.g., Duff 2002; Potter and Yoder, this volume; Stone 2003), place and cultural landscapes (Anschuetz 2005; Ortman, this volume; Snead 2002, this volume), and migration (Bernardini 2005; Clark 2001; Lyons 2003). This is probably not a coincidence. The more we understand individual cases, the more interesting both they and the general issue become. To put it another way, there is no clear line between theory and data, or between structure and agency.

Second, the variation is not only at the level of the individual or small group. Insights into tribal histories give insights into the myriad ways structure may vary and how that variation affects people and the continuity of the structure. This kind of perspective is consonant with the interest in history revived by postprocessual archaeology (Hodder 1987), as well as with the growing interest in historical contingency (e.g., Braun 2001; Fowles 2005) and Pauketat's (2001a, 2001b) focus on historical processualism and traditions.

## AGENCY AS STRATEGIZING

Agency became especially popular in archaeology in studies that focused on the development of ranked societies. In many cases, these posited that there were "aggrandizers," individuals who were actively and intentionally pursuing their own interests by deliberately manipulating the system and transforming the structure (e.g., Clark and Blake 1994; Hayden and Gargett 1990). Later work (e.g., compare Clark [2000] with Clark and Blake [1994]) gave more consideration to constraints on even powerful leaders' actions and to the unintended consequences of actions by all sectors of society (e.g., Pauketat 2000). Other work, considering the big man concept in general, has noted that it tends to presume a Western notion of power-seeking *individuals*, and authors have suggested that this concept of individuality is far from universal (e.g., Clay 1992; Strathern 1988). Although I agree with many of these criticisms, I think it is worth noting that the aggrandizer perspective did enhance the study of the origins of certain kinds of institutions in important ways. That is, while aggrandizers should probably not be assumed to be omnipresent or omnipotent, it does seem that consciously planned strategic actions by individual leaders

were important components of multigenerational structural changes, such as the exponential expansion of the Enga Te finance system (Wiessner 2002). Further consideration of these perspectives also explores ways in which this structure-transforming agency was enabled by the structure in the first place.

For the most part, aggrandizers have not played a major role in accounts of Southwest prehistory. The aggrandizer model does not fit well with ethnographic descriptions of Pueblo peoples, which emphasize non-ostentatious leadership, or arrangements such as heterarchies or moiety systems, which involve the rotation of leadership positions. Furthermore, although there is evidence of various kinds of inequalities, hierarchies, and heterarchies (Graves and Spielmann 2000; Hegmon 2005; McGuire and Saitta 1996; Rautman 1998), there are few or no chiefdom-like hierarchies known in Southwest prehistory, with the possible exception of Chaco, Paquimé, and later developments in the Hohokam region.

However, the absence of obvious aggrandizers—in the literature, and possibly also in prehistory—does not preclude the importance of agency in other kinds of “alternative” leadership strategies, explored in the recent volume by that name (Mills 2000). In addition, work focused on Chaco Canyon has also considered how leaders emerged (Sebastian 1991) and how labor was organized (Saitta 1997). I have previously (Hegmon 2005) argued that the Southwest provides particularly interesting examples of the varying relationships among inequality, complexity, and leadership. In this vein, I would also argue that the Southwestern cases demonstrate the variable relationships between agency and the structure of leadership.

## AGENT-BASED MODELING

The use of agent-based computer modeling (ABM) in the social sciences has been growing rapidly in the past few years (e.g., Berry, Kiel, and Elliott 2002; Kohler and Gummerman 2000; Proops and Safonov 2005). These bottom-up models involve the creation of computer “microworlds” to determine and understand “how the interactions and varied behaviors of individual agents produce structure and patterns” (Berry, Kiel, and Elliott 2002:7187). Note that agents need not be individuals; they can be various social groupings, such as households, or potentially even other parts of the social system (Jannsen 2005). In archaeology, some of the most detailed and highly developed ABM research has focused on Southwest cases. One effort (Axtell et al. 2002) has studied the changing settlement distributions in Long House Valley in northeast Arizona. Their modeled agents, households that located their settlements and fields based on nutritional needs and various ecological

variables, produced a settlement pattern (including a rapid decline at the end) that closely matched the archaeological record.

An even more detailed study, known as the Village Ecodynamics Project (Kohler et al. 2000, 2005, 2007; Ortman et al. 2007; Varien et al. 2007), is focusing on studying settlement patterns in southwestern Colorado. This model is situating its agents—households, modeled as nuclear families—in the structure of a very realistic and detailed landscape, developed with detailed data on the topography, soils, hydrology, vegetative cover, distribution of some animals, and climactic patterns of the region. This detailed reconstruction is in contrast to many ABM studies, which focus on a fairly general conceptual level. Most of the Village Project's results thus far focus on ecological issues, including how the distribution of resources influences settlement patterns and how the resultant settlement affects the landscape (e.g., Johnson et al. 2005 focus on fuel-wood depletion). However, there is great potential for the investigation of social processes, and work on issues such as the emergence of communities is promised (Johnson et al. 2005:99).

To my knowledge, there has been relatively little published discussion regarding the extent to which ABM involves “agency,” as the term is used in social theory. I believe that ABM is consonant with the concept of agency, in a way that is very significant theoretically. That is, as I argue throughout this chapter, agency is not free will. Agency is enabled and constrained by structure, and agency can only be understood in terms of its recursive relationship with structure. Perhaps nowhere is this link clearer than in agent-based models. The agents in these models may vary, in predictable or idiosyncratic ways, and consideration of the kinds of variation and its effects is one of the key advantages provided by ABM. The agents may be programmed to have “intentions” or to pursue certain kinds of strategies. They may even learn and develop social networks and thus may evolve in ways not strictly programmed into the model. But they only “act” in relation to structure; without the structure (i.e., the computer model), ABM would not make any sense. Not all of these nuances (especially agents that learn) are yet being pursued in models based on the archaeology of the Southwest, although some aspects of learning are being incorporated into the Village Project's work on exchange. But even as they stand, Southwest ABMs are relevant to the social theory of agency, and I expect that as they are developed further, the relevance will become more and more clear.

## **AGENCY AND STRUCTURE**

Recent archaeological work is developing new perspectives on agency. Dobres and Robb (2005) consider agency to be a “materially grounded form of



reproduction.” They argue that rather than trying to “find” agency in the archaeological record, archaeologists should (and increasingly are) developing an “agency-oriented reading” (2005:164) of the archaeological record, a reading that provides understandings of both stability and transformation, and that interdigitates theory and method. In large part, this comes back to the idea of understanding agency in its mutually constitutive relationship with structure, and vice versa. The explicit emphasis on interdigitating theory and method is new, in archaeology, but it ties well with the emphasis in some of the early agency and practice theory literature on moving beyond the dualisms of objectivity versus subjectivity, or ontology versus epistemology.

As Sewell notes in his excellent review (increasingly cited by archaeologists), whatever is designated as structure is seen as “structuring” some other aspects of social life (1992:2). Or, as Bourdieu put it regarding habitus: “structured structures, predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices . . .” (1977:72). This is more than a play on words. The idea is that structure—often recognized as a pattern—*does* something. The archaeological record of the Southwest is often apparently redundant (e.g., the rotational symmetry prevalent in pottery designs, the persistence of unit pueblo architecture). Consistency and invariance are also apparently important components of native ritual practices, in that failure to execute a ritual exactly as prescribed by tradition can result in dangerous imbalances. Thus structure is—in some respects—obvious in the archaeological record of the Southwest, so much so that it may have overshadowed agency in early interpretations. However, given my perspective (that agency is being overemphasized, at the expense of structure), the emphasis on, and apparent transparency of, structure in the Southwest may be very welcome and may provide Southwest archaeologists with a real opportunity to contribute to this general realm of theory. I consider work in this area in terms of four (non-mutually exclusive) components.

### Recognizing Structure

Southwest archaeology has advanced our understanding of structure in part simply by giving it, and the structure-agency dynamic, explicit attention. A key example is Varien’s (1999a) study of household and community dynamics in the Mesa Verde region. He views the construction of a site in a particular locale on the landscape as an instance of agency that is both constrained and enabled by existing structures. What’s more, the structure, as well as associated land claims, then becomes part of the landscape structure that enables and constrains future agency. One result is an increasingly packed, clustered, and constraining landscape. Many of the chapters in this volume



(including those by Kuckelman, Lyons et al., Ortman, Ryan, and Varien and Potter) are refining the concept of structure in part by drawing upon Sewell's (1992) conception of structure as "schemas" and "resources," as well as upon other theories.

Although they are not usually discussed in this regard, tribal histories and traditions, examined above, could also be seen as "structuring structures," enabling and constraining agency in different ways. Some of the work interpreting the various histories of Eastern and Western Pueblo groups, as well as Athapaskans, could be interpreted from this perspective. Similarly, the conceptual metaphors that Ortman (Ortman 2000, 2007; Ortman and Bradley 2002) has identified could be seen as a component of structure, and further work could consider them in relation to agency.

### Structuring Structures

Many accounts of agency emphasize individual variation, or even intentional strategizing, which results in structural change and transformation. Agency certainly can underlie transformation, but it similarly is part of structural reproduction. Repetitive, thoughtless, habitual behavior is still agency, in that it is what individuals do, and it and structure are mutually constitutive (a point also made by Varien and Potter in chapter 1). Bourdieu is often criticized (e.g., Dornan 2002:305–07; Sewell 1992:15) for not allowing sufficient space for agency. It is true that in at least some of his work, Bourdieu did not seem to believe that people were very aware of what they were doing: "It is because subjects do not, strictly speaking, know what they are doing that what they do has more meaning than they know" [1977:79]). And it also seems to be true that he did not believe that either structure or habitus is very amenable to change (e.g., Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:133).

I would like to think he is wrong. I like Margaret Mead's sentiment: "A small group of thoughtful people could change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has." But my discomfort with the political implications of Bourdieu's conclusions does not mean I think his theory is misguided. At the very least, I think the issue of whether and to what extent individuals are conscious of what they are doing with regards to structure, and whether and to what extent individuals can effect change is an empirical question. Maybe, hopefully, in some places, they (we?) can; in other times and places, maybe not. There is *always* a recursive relationship of structure and agency. In some cases, it is likely to lead to structural transformation (and understanding the properties of those cases is a key component of some Marxist and other research traditions); in other cases, that relationship results in the reproduction and perpetuation of structure.

The archaeological record of the Southwest provides an excellent context in which to examine some of these ideas, in several respects. Here I simply offer suggestions and tentative interpretations, which I hope will lead to more consideration and research. First, there are numerous instances in which structure seems to have been deeply entrenched, in which it had great depth (in Sewell's terms). Archaeologically, the results of structural reproduction are clearly defined and easily recognizable great traditions, which we know as Mimbres Classic or Mesa Verde Pueblo III or the Hohokam regional system, etc. Perhaps it is obvious, but the reason these traditions are so clearly recognizable is because people (across tens or even hundreds of miles, and over generations) did things in the same way. This invariance is a manifestation of consistent structural rules (in Giddens's terms) or cultural schemas (in Sewell's terms). There was plenty of agency (there always is), but the agency seems to have primarily reproduced the structure.

The result, in the classic cases mentioned above, is that when things changed, they changed dramatically, to the point that although there apparently was demographic continuity, the earlier structures are no longer recognizable archaeologically. This is why, for example, the end of the Mimbres Classic period, around A.D. 1150, had long been interpreted as the demise of the Mimbres people, although we now know that many people stayed in the region and simply reorganized their life (and pottery) styles (Hegmon et al. 1998; Hegmon and Nelson 2001). Similarly, this is perhaps why the migration of probably thousands of people from the Mesa Verde region to the northern Rio Grande is not clearly manifested in the movement of a clear Mesa Verde style (Cordell 1995). These cases also suggest—consonant with a body of thought known as Resilience Theory—that structural rigidity, which allows little room for variations in agency, may be more likely to lead to dramatic (and sometimes painful) transformations than structural flexibility (Hegmon et al. 2008; Redman and Kinzig 2003).

At least some of the people participating in these great traditions may have been experiencing a state of what Bourdieu calls “doxa,” that is, “a quasi-perfect correspondence between the objective order and the subjective principles of organization . . . (such that) the natural and social world appears as self-evident” (Bourdieu 1977:164). This is not to say that they were unthinking automatons, but rather to suggest that if they did self-consciously examine their cultural schema, they would likely have found them confirmed in the conditions surrounding them (see also Perry, this volume). The cultural schema they were examining were the same schema that helped to create their surroundings: this is doxa. This sense of doxa might even have been reinforced by the increasing isolation (which may have been deliberately created or perpetuated) of these great traditions from surrounding areas at the same

time that the entrenched traditions (Mimbres Classic and Mesa Verde Pueblo III) are the most well established (Blinman and Wilson 1992; Glowacki 2006; Hegmon and Nelson 2007; Lipe 2006).

Bourdieu (1977:168–69) also argues that one can become aware of doxa (in which case, it is technically no longer doxa, but rather becomes heterodoxy or orthodoxy) in novel situations, such as (in today's world) travel. In the prehispanic Southwest, migrations would have provided such novel contexts. Especially for the period at the end of the thirteenth century, we have clear evidence of long-distance migrations in various parts of the Southwest. In some cases, (such as the northern Rio Grande) thousands of people seem to have moved to a new area and to have generally blended in. In other cases, communities retained their earlier traditions and stood out from the locals. Sometimes immigrants developed what appear to have been cooperative relationships with locals (e.g., the San Pedro River Valley); in other cases, they were apparently marginalized (e.g., the Tonto Basin); and in some instances, (e.g., Point of Pines [Haury 1958]) they may have been forced out violently (Lyons et al., this volume; and Stone 2003 explore some of these contrasts). As archaeologists begin to recognize the great variation in the social processes of migration, resettlement, and integration or conflict, we can also begin to consider ways in which doxa (of the migrants and perhaps also the hosts) was challenged or changed.

### **The Reinvention of Traditions**

Traditions probably develop in all sorts of ways, sometimes as the result of deliberate invention (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), sometimes as the accumulation of many small actions (Joyce 2004; Pauketat 2000), and, of course, the two are not mutually exclusive. Recently, archaeologists, historians, and others are focusing on how people in the past used their own pasts (e.g., Connerton 2006; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003). In some cases, it seems there were deliberate attempts to make a break with the past, as in the Olmec defacement and burial of their stone heads (Drennan 1976) or the execution of the political (as well as the biological) body of Louis XVI in the French Revolution (Connerton 1989). The destruction of Burnt Corn Pueblo described by Snead (this volume) may be another case. As Snead notes, it is not clear whose past was being destroyed, but the result (the burnt ruins) became a symbol of the past that persisted into the present. In other cases, the past was called upon or reproduced, apparently deliberately, for purposes in the present (e.g., Alcock 2001; Dietler 1994; see also Van Dyke and Alcock 2003). Both kinds of practices involve a special and particularly interesting example of intentional agency apparently making deliberate use of structure. In a way, the whole of

past structure—that is, the recognized tradition—can be seen as a resource that is part of the present structure. There are two examples of this process that have received considerable attention in the archaeology of the Southwest.

One, which is discussed by both Ryan and Ortman (this volume), is the apparently deliberate recall of Chacoan traditions in post-Chacoan (i.e., post-1140) periods (Fowler and Stein 1992). Focusing on Chaco Canyon itself, Van Dyke (2005, 2005) suggests Late Bonito phase developments drew upon the “old order” of the Classic Bonito phase to add legitimacy to later new architectural and social forms. A similar process may have occurred at numerous sites across the Southwest, and in some cases, road segments between Chaco-period and later sites are thought to have acted as “time bridges” (Fowler and Stein 1992). These and other linkages are most obvious at some long-recognized Chacoan “outliers,” such as Salmon and Aztec Ruins, but they may reach as far as Casas Grandes (Lekson 1999). In some cases, such as Aztec, these developments may have had far-reaching regional implications, while in other cases (Kintigh et al. 1996), the revival of Chaco-like architectural forms seems to have had a more localized focus, and/or religious significance (e.g., Bradley 1996). But in all of these cases, history and tradition were apparently used as a resource—and were part of structure in that sense—to bolster the current situation. And, if Ortman is correct, the results were apparently disastrous in lower Sand Canyon.

The second example is at a smaller scale but may have even more temporal and spatial depth. Across much of the Southwest, ceremonial structures built in a given period seem to have, in various ways, made connections with earlier structures, in both the physical and theoretical sense. In the Mimbres/Mogollon region, this process has been well documented by Anyon and LeBlanc (1980), who showed how, in any given period, the ceremonial structures retained the form (circular, subterranean) and some of the specific features (stones that made them appear kidney-shaped) of structures associated with earlier periods. The same attachment to the past is obvious in the kivas of the northern Southwest (Hegmon 1989), where there are also numerous examples of kivas in one period built directly on top of pit houses dating to centuries earlier (Varien 1999b).

### Contexts for Change

As is clear in Giddens’s overall (enormous) corpus, his ideas regarding structure and agency and the process of structuration have roots in Marxist theory (e.g., Giddens 1974) and the Marxist idea of dialectics. Society, agency, structure, practice, and so on, are all *processes*, ever in motion. Thus Marxist scholars

often note that it is stasis as much as “change” that needs to be explained, as change is part of the normal course of events. At the same time, this theoretical approach recognizes and emphasizes that there are certain contexts that—for better or worse—seem to facilitate or lead to major changes. One goal of Marxist analyses is to understand those contexts, for example, the emergence of class consciousness, which can lead to revolutionary action. In general and slightly different terms, Southwest archaeologists have been able to identify contexts in which major/structural changes were possible or likely.

In their chapters in this volume, both Schachner and Potter and Yoder suggest that movement into a previously empty area, a “clean slate,” provided a context for major changes and deliberate redefinition of traditions. In earlier work (2001), Schachner considered changes (and the eventual reversal of those changes) in Pueblo I ritual organization in the Dolores area. Drawing upon Aldenderfer (1993), he argued that stressful periods (such as cold or dry spells) created contexts that were particularly amenable to changes, possibly instituted as a result of deliberate strategizing by knowledgeable agents.

These three cases, each beginning with a context amenable to change, had very different outcomes. In the El Morro case discussed by Schachner in this volume, the long-term result was the establishment of a stable tradition that became the Zuni of today. In the Dolores case of Schachner’s earlier work (2001), the result is that the intra-generational changes did not take hold at a multigenerational scale (i.e., they were not complete transformations). Rather, perhaps a generation later people seem to have reverted back to their earlier structure and organization. And in the Pueblo I case near Durango discussed by Potter and Yoder (this volume), the result was apparently the establishment or reinforcement of ethnic differences and the eventual massacre of the residents of the Sacred Ridge site. All three of these cases have implications for the relationships of structure and agency, and they certainly raise questions regarding the human costs of some structural transformations.

## CONCLUSION

Agency has the potential to humanize archaeology (including both scientific and humanistic traditions) by putting people back into the picture. This potential seems to be one reason agency has become such a popular concept recently. At the same time, because agency is not simply intentionality or free will, it is a complicated concept theoretically, sometimes overwhelmingly so. Almost every time I teach a graduate course on theory, we spend an entire class session on one paragraph in Bourdieu’s (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (the one about structuring structures, on page 72). I think the stu-

dents get it, and I learn more every time I go through it, but this is not a way to humanize archaeology. The density of so much theory regarding agency/structure/practice, and so on, has the potential to be very off-putting. The great contribution of Southwest archaeology, and of this volume in particular, is that they bring agency *and people* into the picture in both humanizing and theoretically significant ways.

There are real people in these chapters, and in other accounts of Southwest archaeology. In some extraordinary cases (e.g., the chapter by Kuckelman), these are individual persons, whose lives we can follow. In many other cases, both because of the temporal resolution and the archaeologists' focus, the reader gets the sense of real people moving across the landscape, living at a site, constructing their architecture, and generally acting in certain ways for certain reasons. This perspective has even been developed in recent (and controversial) popular accounts of Southwest archaeology (Childs 2007). There is also a strong sense of real people living (or dying) with the consequences of their actions. Readers want to know what happened.

But this isn't just a matter of human interest, or of storytelling. The linkages between the people, what they could do, and how they were affected by what they did are the linkages between structure and agency. These people grew up in and/or migrated from a place, a village, a tradition; this is structure. They acted (agency) based on what they knew, on their sense of social and gendered identity, on their position in society (more structure). As a result of their actions (agency), their society continued relatively unchanged, or changes didn't bear fruit, or everything changed (structure), or they or their neighbors did well or suffered. These are stories, but they are stories that (implicitly and explicitly) link structure and agency, that help us understand the past, and that help us understand how what we do might affect the future.



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## The Grounds for Agency in Southwest Archaeology

Timothy R. Pauketat

There may come a day, in the not-too-distant future, when there will be little need to explicitly advocate agentic viewpoints in archaeology. This is because the central tenets of perspectives that recognize people to have continuously re-created and altered their social realities and cultural landscapes will have become archaeological common sense (see Meskell and Preucel 2004). On that day, a shift that I have elsewhere described as paradigmatic—altering how we explain the past—will be complete (Pauketat 2001b). But that day, when it comes, will arrive only because of the efforts of *scholars working collectively* to ground, as it were, agency in archaeology.

Before then, agent-oriented (or practice-centered, historical-processual, and social) archaeologies must address a series of theoretical and methodological issues (Dobres and Robb 2000b, 2005). Among the most important is the concept of agency itself, particularly its dimensionality, processual qualities, and relationship to what has been called “structure” (Varien and Potter, this volume, citing Giddens 1984). I am particularly concerned for present purposes with three agentic dimensions: the material, spatial, and communal (admittedly, the latter is seldom considered in dimensional terms).

For present purposes, I will separate dimensionality and process, allowing me to draw out the causal relationships between migration, pluralism, violence, and history while rethinking what exactly is meant by structure. After a review of some principles and concepts, I turn to those relationships and use them to argue that we adopt what John Robb (1998) has termed the “tesserae” approach to structure. Such an approach recognizes the physicality of social histories, object biographies, and practical genealogies as structure. Such a move is possible, I believe, because the authors of this book take



up the challenge of Mark Varien and James Potter (this volume) to theorize structure and engage agency in ways and at scales that go beyond the usual case study.

### **-ISMS: IDENTITIES THAT POLARIZE**

That said, there are those who yet assert that agent-based perspectives are “black box” approaches, “less testable” than other well-known and shopworn materialist or idealist explanations (e.g., Brown 2006:204; Flannery 2006:9). Nothing could be farther from the truth, of course, as this volume attests. Moreover, such arguments have the unfortunate side effect of perpetuating polarizing “-isms”—scientism versus humanism, or positivism versus post-modernism—that are largely irrelevant in actual contemporary archaeological practice (cf. Hodder 2004; VanPool and VanPool 1999). So, before we get to dimensions and processes, let’s dispense with the shopworn misconceptions.

The last thirty years or so of archaeological theorizing might be seen as a period of decreasing reductionism. In the early 1970s, for instance, scenarios positing that, say, population growth, warfare, or interaction directly or indirectly caused the evolution of complex social organizations seemed satisfactory to explain entire epochs of human history and the processes of, among other things, civilization. However, by today’s standards, such scenarios are, at best, coarse descriptions of great stretches of human history, not explanations. Yes, population growth might have preceded increased interaction and warfare. But there is considerably more to explain here than such broad-brush treatments allow.

That was already evident by the 1980s, when many archaeologists followed the groundbreaking work of Ian Hodder and his associates, early advocates of agent-oriented perspectives (e.g., Hodder 1982, 1986; Miller and Tilley 1984). Subsequently, archaeologists interested in social evolution began to include “historical factors” in their explanations (e.g., Renfrew 1987; Upham 1990). Some suggested that change might happen as rapid transformations of otherwise stable cultural structures or systems (e.g., Spencer 1990). Researchers also recognized the potential historical importance of factions, genders, and various ideological projects, movements, or interests (Brumfiel 1992; Paynter and McGuire 1991); one forward-thinking researcher even suggested that we consider the historical importance of the everyday “sensuous experiences” of social life (Kus 1983). And so, today, talk of the agency of people, places, and things, and of the construction of collective memories, imagined communities, cultural landscapes, and historical narratives, is commonplace in some circles (Varien and Potter, this volume; see also Ashmore

2004; Blake 2004; Dobres and Robb 2000b, 2005; Isbell 2000; Johnson 2006; Meskell 2004; Robb 1998; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003).

However, there are intransigent “normative” tendencies in many archaeologists trained to think that human behaviors or cultural beliefs are widely shared and slow to change. Such tendencies somehow manage to “creep” back into explanations (Snead, this volume), perhaps in part because they relieve us from seeking ever more hard-won archaeological evidence of variable social experiences and diverse cultural practices. The normatively inclined archaeologist, reading yet another chapter touting an agent-oriented perspective, might ask in exasperation, How much detail on individual lives, historical moments, or object biographies do we need before we can explain the past? Besides, one might insist, unless we renounce explanation in archaeology altogether, we have to engage in reductionism of some sort. Indeed, it is a truism that explanations rest on recognizing patterns and compressing variability within data sets. We all must simplify reality to explain or interpret it.

Contrast that, however, with the desire by authors in this volume to recognize what we might understand as the variation, divergence, and plurality of particular places, histories, and peoples in the past. Once one looks for them, cultural diversity and historical complexity are everywhere in the ancient Southwest. In fact, James Potter and Thomas Yoder now doubt that there were *any* homogeneous cultural traditions in the Southwest! Carrying such logic further, one might similarly question the existence of other idealized organizations, institutions, ideologies, social roles, or societies (Pauketat 2003b, 2007a). Such constructs as these, which might be perfectly fine descriptive terms, fail when we realize that people’s practices might deviate from particular norms or ideals in significant ways. Thus, as reified, such concepts prevent us from recognizing the diversity, plurality, resistance, and the like that were, in certain contexts, generative of historical change.

And thus the grounds for moving toward agency-centered approaches to the past are that we can’t assume uniform behaviors or cultures at the outset. Only after documenting potentially diverse historical sequences, genealogies of cultural practices, and object biographies, using multiple lines and varying scales of evidence, can we then establish their causal significance through comparative analysis and, finally, generalize about historical processes. Allow me to illustrate, beginning with the dimensionality of agency.

## **-ITIES: DIMENSIONS OF PRACTICE AND EXPERIENCE**

Elsewhere, I have argued that history might be thought of as the process of “cultural construction through practice” (Pauketat 2001b). Anthony Giddens

(1979) would have called this “structuration.” People make, remake, embody, engage, or project their cultural realities through social experience (Meskell and Preucel 2004). Social life mediates history and vice versa. Vico, Marx, Gramsci, Merleau-Ponty, and the rest were right.

Already, however, note that the emphasis here is not on individual agents as much as it is on the relationships embodied by their practices or engagements with the larger world. That is, the process of history making is a relational one that involves agents as parts of social fields, networks, arenas, structures, or landscapes (see Bourdieu 1977; Latour 1999; Merleau-Ponty 1962). In a sense, agents are nodes in these relational fields and not the equivalent of practices or experiences. In other words, as a node, one might be said to “have agency.” But having agency is a tricky issue since, it has been said, we are not always responsible for our own actions. That is, following recent studies of object biographies and “dispersed agency,” one can have more or less agency (Gell 1998; Latour 1999; Strathern 1988). Much like Michel Foucault’s (1990) sense of “power,” agentic forces might be located in material objects, human bodies, or unseen phenomena (Meskell 2004). And they might be alternately fragmented or concentrated through time and space (Chapman 2000).

In any case, this leads us to one important position: agency—partial or otherwise—is not in and of itself a process. The opposite sometimes seems implicit in certain structure/agency formulations, especially those that rely on “methodological individualism” (Dobres and Robb 2000b). Here, certain strategies or tactics are said to have been inherent to or selected by key individuals, who then effect societal change by carrying them out. Missing in all such equations is an explanation for how the strategies or tactics were negotiated between these key agents and the rest of the population. That is, missing in such appeals to agency is the process that archaeologists should be seeking to explain (especially egregious examples of this are found in “dual-processual” models; see Pauketat 2007a).

On the other hand, to practice, engage, embody, or experience a relational field *is* a process to the extent that it is *generative* of historical change (Pauketat 2001b). And this means that, logically, one does not explain history by locating specific agents (although finding them can be informative; see Kuckelmann, this volume). Instead, one explains history by showing the causal relationships between the bodies, objects, spaces, and features of some larger fields of human experience. Lucky for archaeologists, such *fields have a dimensionality*. They have matter, take up space, or can be experienced by people.

Thus, the dimensions themselves are the necessary starting points for our explanations of processes. For present purposes, I will dwell on the material,

spatial, and communal dimensions in order to focus attention, later in the chapter, on the all-important relationships of community formation to the histories of places, migrations, and violence. But there are other multiple overlapping or interbedded dimensions: temporality, corporeality, visibility, rituality, sexuality, citationality, monumentality, theatricality, the list goes on and on.

## **Materiality**

The extent to which cultural practices and social experiences assume a physical form or engage the material world is the extent to which we may speak of the materiality of those practices and experiences. This is not quite the same as saying that some idea or cultural structure was “materialized” (e.g., DeMarrais et al. 1996). Depending on its precise usage, materialization conveys a sense that an idea or structure was held in the mind first and only subsequently given material form. It is as if the material form remains static, a mere expression of an unseen idea or cultural structure created elsewhere outside the recoverability range of archaeologists.

Moreover, such a usage of materialization implicitly perpetuates an artificial (Cartesian) separation of subject from object or mind from body. Just that separation has been bridged recently by archaeologists analyzing technological know-how (Dobres 2000), object-body relationships (Joyce 2005; Meskell 2004), and monuments (Bradley 1998; Tilley 2004), among other things. Here, the materiality of some idea or structure is understood as virtually synonymous or simultaneous with the moment in which it takes material form. This is not to say, of course, that meanings, beliefs, rules, codes, or schemas do not exist as subjective phenomena; but it is to insist that such subjectivities exist because of objective engagements, practices, or experiences of people in the material world. And it is to insist that the reflexive relationship between the two, like structure and agency, is not a temporal one. The two exist only in our analytical language. Thus, it has been said, the concept of materiality, perhaps even better than “practice,” captures the inseparability of structure and agency, mind and body, or cognition and experience (DeMarrais et al. 2004; Johnson 2006; Meskell 2004; Miller 2005; Pauketat 2001b).

For some, the historicity of particular material engagements means that we could speak of different “materialities,” similar to the way ethnologists used to speak of different cultures (e.g., Meskell and Joyce 2003). This is apparently Matthew Johnson’s (2006:122–23) point when he says “that agents are constructed differently in different cultures and historical situations, and that the archaeological record can be used to explore these constructions and the way they are materialized in, for example, architecture

and landscape.” However, such distinctions nevertheless tend to treat particular historical cases synchronically as “cultures” or “situations” and, thus, beg the questions that would lead one to analyze the materiality of some history in the first place. Begging the historical questions in this way is probably better suited to ethnological approaches that lack a depth of field or historical perspective and that, therefore, interpret one synchronic context with reference to another.

The problem of such approaches is that the methodology of distinguishing alternate materialities runs the risk of isolating material assemblages or characterizing relationships in ways that reify them, insinuating that one might know them as meaningful arrays rather than as historical processes, which is to say arrays-in-the-making. Such a step back toward idealism elevates meanings, cultural structures, rules, representations, or schemas as entities that archaeologists can locate and hold constant in order to (1) get at what motivated human agents and then (2) observe the effects of the consequent actions. But this post-structural two-step is unnecessary and, in fact, violates the central principle of materiality—that mind and body are one, and that cultural practices or social experiences are meaningful only in the moments of performance, experience, embodiment, and so on.

The same applies to the way that Anthony Giddens (1979, 1984) and Pierre Bourdieu (1977) attempted to remedy the Cartesian separation of structure/agency using the mediating concepts of structuration or practice. Both inevitably privileged mind over matter, Bourdieu (1977) via the problematic concept of *habitus* and Giddens (1979) by insufficiently grounding structuration in all of its dimensions. In a sense, both tended to dehistoricize their agents by removing them from the materiality of fields of action (see also Johnson 2006:122). To borrow Daniel Miller’s (2005:17) apt phrase, they reified the subject by purifying them of objects.

## Spatiality

Regardless of their materiality, cultural practices and social experiences also occupy space. Human bodies, material objects, and other physical features distributed in space comprise the fields wherein history is made. Bodies and objects both take up space and assume meaning with reference to each other in spatial fields, from closed domestic room interiors to open public theaters (Hendon 2000; Hodder and Cessford 2003; Inomata 2006; Pauketat and Alt 2005; Robin 2002). Likewise, speech, songs, or music is audible by virtue of one’s proximity to the source and the specificities of vocalization or volume vis-à-vis the acoustics of space (Inomata 2006). Visuality—or one’s point of view—is spatial; even invisible agentic or “socionatural” forces, such as

wind, light, or otherworldly spirits, exist and are experienced in space (see Walker 2006; Ortman, this volume).

Now, paralleling the plural use of materiality, one might speak of various spatialities as synonyms for different relational fields or arenas of action, although my same reservations apply. More important than this, perhaps, is the recognition of the ways in which the dimension of space is part and parcel of social life and historical process. That is, one's dispositions or subjectivities are constructed in spatial fields and do not exist only as structures of the mind. And so, a familiar landscape might engender one set of feelings (security, connection to the past, etc.), an unfamiliar one quite another (anxiety, alienation, etc.). But the experience is wholly contingent on its spatiality. In Lynn Meskell's (2004:52) words, "people have degrees of agency or intentionality . . . within a specific cultural location; their actions are embedded in contexts of grounding and webs of dependency."

Likewise, while particular objects (such as a photograph) might evoke an emotion or stir one's memory, memories and meanings also "sit in places" (Basso 1996). Thus, places might be said, in some sense, to "have agency" similar to objects or people. Susan Ryan (this volume) claims something very similar to this for the Albert Porter Pueblo. So does James Snead (this volume) for Burnt Corn Pueblo. This is not to say that places can act independently of people, of course, and so agency here is quite secondary (Gosden 2001; Meskell 2004). However, recognizing that some place might impel one to do something that she or he would not do elsewhere, that places have histories with real effects on agents, and that social histories are very much contingent on the emplacements or displacements of people means that history, as the process of cultural construction through practice or as structuration, is about the configuration of agents in space and the making of places (Barrett 1999; e.g., Pauketat 2003a). Indeed, "for most people landscape *is* history" (Snead, this volume).

### **Community as Hybridity**

And if landscape is history, then a most important dimension of the realization of that history would be community. In the past, archaeologists had either equated communities with places, as in the "natural community" model, or with a "level" or "building block" of society. More recently, researchers moved to understand community as an identity that could be variously "imagined" (Schachner, Varien and Potter, this volume; Isbell 2000; Pauketat 2000a).

While adapting the latter position, contributors to this volume still recognize that the social experiences of places remain essential to understanding

the process of imagination. James Potter and Thomas Yoder (this volume) link this with the concepts of locales or localities, and in that spirit, I suggest that it might be preferable to understand community, in one sense, as the dimension of practices and experiences whereby agency is coordinated via particular historical moments at specific sites (or locales). That is, community is not merely an “imagined” structure, belief, or fleeting identity free of place (Varien and Potter, Ortman, this volume).

One might say that community is what community does (or at least what people within a specific cultural location do). In the greater Southwest, whether looking at Allison’s and Potter and Yoder’s early Pueblo-period village aggregations and communal feasts, Ryan’s and Schachner’s Chacoan and post-Chacoan ritual centers, or Ortman’s and Lyons and colleagues’ later and larger Puebloan and Hohokam settlements, nearly every “community” discussed was composed of culturally diverse residents. They came together from different locales, from divergent traditional backgrounds, or from unlike cultural landscapes to build and experience common ground. And so, Southwestern communities came into being through a “gathering” (i.e., a spatialized imagining) of agents via some locus in a social field (*sensu* Heidegger 1977). It is a pattern seen across North America (Pauketat and Loren 2005:5).

What gathered Southwestern people? One frequent response would be to say that rituals gathered people. However, specific people, places, and things comprised any such event, and it was actually they that did the gathering. Block 100 man, for instance, might well have embodied a specific communal heritage up to the moment his body fell from Sand Canyon Pueblo’s rooftop (Kuckelmann, this volume). Likewise, the Albert Porter great house was doubtless a magnet for rituals (Ryan, this volume). But so were San Juan Red Ware bowls (Allison, this volume). In a sense, like these pots, we could say that certain people, places, and things might have served up a sense of community in practice.

Such a sense of community, as a dimension of cultural practices, performances, or experiences, begins to redress the problematic notion of “collective agency,” a concept used generically by archaeologists (Brown 2006; Cobb and King 2005; Dornan 2002; Hegmon, Potter and Yoder, Ryan, this volume). There are reasons not to treat collectives as agents, which will, I hope, become clear. For now, suffice it to say that such a designation begs the processual questions of how agents—whole or partial—were ordered, coordinated, or gathered in the first place. The idea of collective agency, in other words, conflates the processes that we should seek to explain with the nodes of social fields. We may yet talk of communities as identities or as concrete things to be inferred on the ground (much like materialities or spatialities),



but we should also understand them as ever implicit in the practices and experiences of people and, thus, as emergent properties of relational fields. Perhaps most importantly, serving up community via people, places, and things in the Southwest was seldom about simply “reproducing” or “perpetuating” a communal ethos or deep traditional structure.

Susan Alt (2006) would call such communities “hybridities,” but not because the term is a good description of emplaced pluralism. Rather, the idea of hybridity captures the heterogeneous culture-making essence of many, if not all, communal experiences. Hybridity is the “place where differences engage” and “the space for the creation of new cultural forms” (Alt 2006:291, citing Bhabha 1994). When dissimilar agents occupy a common ground, their collective co-engagement has the potential to generate novel outcomes: hybridity. The same process might also be effected with virtually every collective gathering, the specificities of form or outcome contingent on the history and scale of the gathering. In other words, hybridities exist to variable degree everywhere people gathered. As I’ll explain, we should consider the hybridity of communities as the “structure” that informed much Southwestern agency.

## **MIGRATION AND THE X-FACTOR**

Communities as hybridities—or as gatherings or coordinations of agency via particular historical moments at specific sites—are not homogeneous structures that then serve as the basis of strategic collective agency. To the contrary, the places and identities ordinarily called communities, judging from Southwestern examples, are wracked with tensions and inequalities, may be variously gendered, and can be composed of people with dramatically different histories, memories, origin stories, and affiliations. In a very real sense, some Southwestern “communities” were not shared identities at all! They were composite spatial groupings of multiple imagined identities. They were, perhaps, communities-in-the-making or even political projects—Chaco Canyon comes to mind—contingent on the social histories of specific people, places, localities, and the greater Southwest generally. But cooperative, risk-reducing, egalitarian societies?

### **Displacement and Emplacement**

Philip Phillips, James Ford, and James Griffin (1951:454) had another name for hybridity under conditions of migration and intrusion: “Introduced and local cultural traits . . . quickly welded together to produce traits that appear unlike the items from which they were derived . . . is what we have designated



as *the X-factor*, the contributions made by the culture to its own development” (emphasis added). Clearly, although identified by Phillips et al. (1951) in the Mississippi Valley, the best examples of the X-factor are to be found in the Southwest (compare Alt 2006; Cobb 2005; Pauketat 2003a, 2007a).

For example, in the borderlands between the ancestral Puebloan and Hohokam worlds, Patrick Lyons, Brett Hill, and Jeffery Clark (this volume) have evidence from the thirteenth- to fourteenth-century Lower San Pedro Valley and Tonto Basin in eastern Arizona of the causal relationships between migration and history. In the former instance, Kayenta or Tusayan immigrants from northern Arizona encountered a sparsely populated landscape with abundant resources in the south. Their initial material-culture distinctions fell away in the face of the environmental impetus to collaborate via platform-mound ceremonialism. The Pueblo immigrants lived alongside the Hohokam locals, some becoming craftspeople, who, to some degree, held positions of esteem. Unlike this, fewer Pueblo immigrants encountered a denser population of Tonto Basin farmers practicing Hohokam-like traditions. The immigrants in this case remained marginal members of society, and the entire social experiment “ultimately failed” (Lyons et al., this volume). Indeed, conditions were such that many people departed the Tonto Basin just “two or three generations after the first influx of immigrants” (Lyons et al., this volume).

Likewise, Gregson Schachner’s (this volume) study of the Cibola region, in northeastern New Mexico, points to a similar dichotomous case where the occupational and social history varied depending on the historical depth of the land entered. By the late 1200s, the core of the Cibola region had been occupied since Chacoan times and was inscribed with Great House constructions, which, in turn, constrained sensuous experience of localities. However, those constraints were not present in the peripheral Cibola areas, where the “social identities of people may not necessarily have coincided with their village of residence” (Schachner, this volume). In the El Morro Valley, settlements were occupied for shorter periods of time, and ritual facilities were lacking or dispersed.

Obviously, the history of who migrated where, when, and in what numbers matters greatly in explaining the past. Speaking of ancient eastern North America, Charles Cobb (2005:569–70) recently argued that the

[v]arious forms of migration were linked to many of the fundamental changes witnessed during the Mississippian period as communities cast off from long-standing physical and cultural moorings that constituted meaning and experience and replaced them with new ones as they undertook to produce place in a new setting. . . . Migration produces an inflection point where forms of signification—always constituted in part by place—may be reorganized as the production of place begins anew in a different locale. Given the contested and partialized nature of culture, the production of place is an uneven process. . . .

The materiality of identity-construction under the varying conditions of, say, the Lower San Pedro Valley and Tonto Basin or the core and periphery of the Cibola region should lead us to wonder two things: What were the effects of *displacement* as an experience involving the removal of *certain* people from their homeland, and then what were the effects of *emplacement*, the intrusion or encounter of those displaced into a less-familiar landscape? Once there, precisely what and whose “community” or land-tenure “traditions” would be emplaced or reinvented, and how (materially, spatially, corporeally, etc.)? And what and whose practices or memories were excluded or forgotten (see Schachner, this volume)? Schachner and Lyons and colleagues have some of the answers in their data: they know with some remarkable degree of confidence who and how many people were disposed on the new landscape for how long.

So, too, do James Potter and Thomas Yoder (this volume) have some of the answers. In their case study, early Pueblo pioneer farmers entered the empty landscape of the Ridges Basin in southwestern Colorado from different localities and, once there, constructed a “new socio-spatial organizational form—the village-centered landscape.” Doubtless, Potter and Yoder note, a diversity of cultural practices, divergent interests, and alternate agendas were emplaced in the new land. The result—in Alt’s (2006) terms—was a hybridity of experience, seen in the architecture and material culture at and around the central two-story pueblo of Sacred Ridge. The question is, did that edifice “mitigate” the cultural diversity of the migrants and, in its construction and visual power over the surrounding landscape, reconstitute communal identities (Pauketat 2007a)? Presumably, that was the intent. But was it an intention that spontaneously emerged via collective agency, or was it the project of some segment of society? Earlier normative approaches support the former; agent-oriented theories argue the latter, with very different implications for the questions we ask of our data.

The answer is not known for sure yet, but it can be known given enough attention to the contexts of material-goods production and the biographies of things (e.g., Dobres 2000; Joyce 2000; Rowlands 1993). The best example of the potential of such an approach in this volume is James Allison’s analysis of San Juan Red Ware. The materiality of early Pueblo red ware pots and the trappings of the feasting events in which they were used, it seems, were not simply the expression of some preexisting communalism. Rather, red ware pots seem from my reading to have, in essence, instantiated community in localities (Allison, this volume). To put it another way, red ware pots, and other such objects, were projections of community. Their red slips and open forms may have tapped certain aesthetic sensibilities, but their meanings were realized through their usage in specific contexts.

To be sure, a projection or an instantiation of community is not the same as the materialization of a shared communal ideology. Rather, given the Southwest's evident social complexities and likely contested identities, any community project was politically charged. This is Gregson Schachner's (this volume) point when he cites his evidence of practical diversity within the El Morro Valley. Not everyone might have been on board, and hence, Southwestern communalism was not what it has been cracked up to be. There were probably "alternative visions of what . . . communities were and could be" (Schachner, this volume). Otherwise, shouldn't there be more radical social experiments like Chaco Canyon in the Southwest instead of just the one?

Then again, even in the case of Chaco, communities remained hybridities and political projects and, apparently because of that, had to be united via a "community of communities" or a "greater" or "political" community (see Lekson 2006). As noted by Susan Ryan (this volume), Chaco-period outliers, such as the Albert Porter Pueblo, were all a part of that greater imagining, which possessed a regional spatiality that was being created if not reinterpreted through the gatherings in Chaco Canyon and in each outlying great house. That regional spatiality involved other dimensions, including a visuality and a physicality (Schachner, this volume). The important point is that as composite and hybrid phenomena, the people, places, and things engaged in communalization were constructing histories, and those histories, more than the communities per se, had lasting, long-term consequences—via the dimensionality of that construction—for peoples, places, and things elsewhere and later in time.

The visuality and physicality of greater Chaco encompassed the entire world as they knew it. The historical effects clearly reached across the Southwest and, literally, shaped or embodied social life for centuries (Ortman, Ryan, this volume). The immediate effects (of what Steve Lekson [1999] has called *Pax Chaco*) included establishing a genealogy for the people of outliers through the practices of architectural construction and the materiality of ritual gatherings. In such ways, histories of places such as Albert Porter Pueblo could be tethered to the greater project of Chaco Canyon.

But such histories are reinvented, and later post-Chaco remodelers of Albert Porter Pueblo could be said to have *co-opted* or *memorialized* an earlier habitation site (see Snead, this volume). Scott Ortman (this volume) suggests that the organization of the landscape around Castle Rock Pueblo might have likewise referenced or cited an earlier Chacoan model (see also Van Dyke 2003, 2004). Such "citations," especially those involved in trans-regional religious movements that memorialize and co-opt the past, indicate that central locations are all about power and control—the X-factor gone wild (see below). Albert Porter Pueblo remained a memorial to Chaco, in some sense, even after Chaco Canyon itself was a distant memory.

Presumably, the collapse of Chaco around A.D. 1140 was also intimately related to the migration of peoples into portions of the Cibola, Sand Canyon, and San Juan localities, among others (Ortman, Ryan, Schachner, this volume; compare Lekson 1999). More than simply a Chacoan diaspora, though, the migrations of the twelfth century shuffled the social landscape once again, creating plurality and engendering uneasy relations within and between localities. Memories in such displaced conditions, even of something as presumably unforgettable as Chaco, would not have remained true to whatever orthodoxy the ancient Chacoans might have liked. The proof of that is clearly in the Southwestern pudding.

### **Silence, Violence, and Embodied Heritage**

For one thing, the same memories would not have been emplaced in the great houses like they were during Chaco's heyday. Many of these constructions were abandoned and fell silent. A few, such as Albert Porter, were rebuilt, remembered, and reimagined. But perhaps the memories of a greater Chacoan legacy could have taken other forms, even particular corporeal shapes. This seems likely in Kristin Kuckelman's (this volume) compelling account of the life history of Block 100 man. Here was an aging man, probably a leader, lying dead among the desecrated ruins of Sand Canyon Pueblo, a short distance from Castle Rock Pueblo. In life, Kuckelmann's summary of the osteological analysis tells us, Block 100 man had been an artisan whose particular crafting practices—the making and using of ritual things—may have manifested his own heritage. After all, he was genetically related to the high-status ancestors of Chaco Canyon proper. Thus, Block 100 man may have served as a living mnemonic of cultural heritage for the people of his pueblo, if not also for those that killed him, ruined Sand Canyon Pueblo, and mutilated the other bodies of the slain.

Perhaps the heritage, if not also the masculinity, of Block 100 man, for instance, was the ostensive reason for his staying behind, when other village members had left, and the reason he manned the rooftop during the attack itself. Perhaps also, the healed wounds, scars, memories of violent encounters, and performance of violent acts were as much the basis of community building in some places as were feasts, great buildings, or red ware pots. If so, then we would do well to also consider that communalization was a cumulative phenomenon, one that occurred over the lifetimes of peoples, such that their subjectivities or dispositions would have been shaped by their objective experiences over the course of their lives.

This is the upshot of Elizabeth Perry's detailed life histories of 140 people from Grasshopper Pueblo in east-central Arizona. Her study of

musculoskeletal robusticity extends beyond her important conclusion that gender is age-dependent: women became more robust throughout their lives, while men, eating a superior, meat-rich diet, were equally robust in their youth as in old age. Cultural practices, in a sense, could be said to have inscribed one's body via musculature with gender. In addition, she observes, labor and diet were more or less gendered and differentiated contingent on the degree of settlement aggregation and communal integration. This means that community, as a dimension of social life, was embodied and, thus, contingent on the life histories of bodies.

We might wonder, then, how the violent experiences and constructions of those bodies played into the emplacement of community. After all, some of these people were living and breathing violence every day, and this sort of violence, according to Carolyn Nordstrom (2004:224), has implications beyond "the immediacy of an act of harm." Such violence, she says, "has a tomorrow." Were there such long-term historical implications of the violence-laced community identities and practices of the Southwest (see LeBlanc 1999; Lekson 2002)?

Scott Ortman (this volume) provides us with another answer, from southwestern Colorado, where yet another massacre took place. There, some late Pueblo people living in fairly high densities in Goodman Canyon bordered the more dispersed and more-recent immigrants of Sand Canyon, centered at Castle Rock Pueblo. The latter, thinks Ortman, claimed the land, engaged community via feasts at the pueblo, and inscribed the wider landscape with sacred principles by constructing shrines on hills. Of course, just whose sense of order and sacrality was involved is an open question. Was it a pervasive community sense? Perhaps. Perhaps not. Certainly, someone's sense of community—as emplaced there and then—did not accord with the sensibilities of more distant neighbors: witness the pervasive traumata evident on Castle Rock bodies (Kuckelman et al. 2002).

To what degree were the community practices and spaces of the battered Castle Rock people defined by or infused with violent sensibilities (Pauketat 2007b)? Would such a process help explain the spiral of events that culminated in the Sand Canyon and Castle Rock attacks? I think so, meaning that they were not simply examples of stereotypical blood feuds or tribal battles over resources. Instead, as the smoldering pueblos and mutilated bodies evince, such attacks may be more about "silencing" history, eliminating identity, and displacing heritage (Snead, this volume; Trouillot 1985). Both Potter and Yoder's Sacred Ridge case and James Snead's (this volume) example of Burnt Corn Pueblo constitute the smoking-gun evidence of such arguments. The early Pueblo social experiment localized in Ridges Basin was terminated by the massacre of "no fewer than 35 men and women of all ages," fol-

lowed by the “extensive processing/desecration of their remains” (Potter and Yoder, this volume). The killing event followed a period of uneasy tensions and social, if not physical, struggles. It was a moment in which other agents strategically sought to silence the residents. They enacted their structure, one might say, and their enemy’s occupation of the valley ended.

The late thirteenth-century communal construction of the large block house on a hill overlooking a small valley off the beaten track in the Galisteo Basin represents yet another similar historical process. The construction of what is now known as Burnt Corn Pueblo and the inscription of Petroglyph Hill emplaced community on the landscape and, in essence, consolidated agency and identity as this place, much as it did for other Southwest localities. For outsiders, of course, such an emplacement or consolidation may have challenged their own reading of the history of the basin. The construction of defensible buildings in this way, says Ross Hassig (1998), constituted very real, offensive threats to others.

So, the destruction of Burnt Corn Pueblo one September morning was, like Castle Rock and Sand Canyon Pueblos, an “attack on history,” specifically the history of immigrants as materialized in an imposing two-story building. For Snead (this volume), this episode of landscape, identity, memory, and history making was, to say the least, power-laden and filled with contradictions. In that power and contradiction were agency and unintended consequence; the abandonment of Burnt Corn Pueblo changed the region’s tomorrow, so to speak, but perhaps not in the way the attackers had intended. The ruins of Burnt Corn Pueblo became a place to avoid. The emptiness was haunted.

## DEPTH OF FIELD

In some ways, that emptiness is haunted still, the ruins presencing the past, so to speak, in palpable ways. That one can garner such a heightened sense of proximity to the past from reading these data-rich case studies is a testament to the contributors’ attention to the historical details needed for doing good archaeology in the future. Indeed, the authors of this book seem somehow to be closer than archaeologists in other parts of the world to the specific moments, gatherings, and encounters of ancient people. They do this in part by mustering definitive evidence of cultural variation and by showing its historical implications, tacking between the occupation histories of localities and the biographies or genealogies of specific bodies, sites, and objects (see Pauketat and Alt 2005).

Tracking variation in genealogical or biographical detail, as they do, points me toward one overwhelming conclusion: the cultural structures implied in

Giddens's concept of "structuration" are, largely, not structures at all. At least, they are not structures in the sense of deeply embedded norms or knowledges held in common by some community of agents. I am even suspect of the more surficial structures that Ortner (1990), Sewell (1992), and others have called "cultural schemas" (see Varien and Potter, Hegmon, this volume). To be blunt, I am not sure that I see the resilient communal traditions and enduring structures of kinship and heterarchy in the same way that others have seen them in the Southwest (e.g., Johnson 1989; Mills 2004; McGuire and Saitta 1996). The migrations, violence, and embodied heritage of the Southwest suggest to me something different.

That difference is captured by John Robb's (1998) use of the word "tesserae" to describe a particular approach to understanding structure and agency. For Robb, that which motivated action, inculcated dispositions, or informed experience might be seen not as durable structures, but instead as a mosaic comprised of pieces of material—tesserae—that are arrayed to form the larger composites. As tesserae, that is, structures were susceptible to being reconfigured into any number of arrays, configurations, or fields, depending on the circumstances and contexts of configuration. Also, like tesserae, the overall pattern of the arrays or fields might appear very ordered at a certain scale of analysis. It may *have* structure, so to speak, without actually *being* a structure.

In the Southwest, such structures could be said to exist as places, perhaps built into the walls of a pueblo. They may have been memorialized in certain localities by shrines or rock art. They might even have been embodied by particular people and their everyday practices: serving food in a pot, making a necklace, weaving fabric, or cultivating corn. But they are made up of bits that have matter and take up space. They might be represented in the production steps of pottery making, if not in the pots themselves. They might be remembered in one's possessions in some corner of a room. They may be emplaced as part of a larger landscape of shrines, deserts, mountains, fields, and pueblos. But pots can be broken, their sherds dispersed. Possessions can be given away, lost, or ceremonially buried. And places can be attacked, defiled, and emptied. Indeed, each composite structure exists only in the dimensionality of some moment and is subject in the very next moment to reconfiguration or reconstruction.

This is so because people, places, and things "cited" larger histories, genealogies, or biographies in which they were grounded (*sensu* Butler 1993). Yes, they were still constrained "by social or material factors" (Joyce 2004:84). Such things would include the environment, climate, or even singular weather events. But "a repeated citation of . . . culturally situated precedents . . . shapes new cultural performances" in ways that emphasize how practices,



performance, or experiences mediate such factors (Joyce 2004:84). In a sense, the histories, genealogies, or biographies *were* structures, composed of fields of tesserae that were continuously engaged by agents. Structure and agency truly were one and the same.

In a way, such a view merely seconds Varien and Potter's (this volume) call for additional theorizing of structure, agency, and community. But my sense is that such theorizing must come at the expense of older normative notions while *grounding* a softened, less reductionist approach to agency and structure in the dimensions of historical processes. In particular, agency is not a process, and structure isn't something only in people's heads that is uniformly shared and subsequently materialized as tradition or ideology. Rather, it is to be recognized by archaeologists in the open spaces, constructions, practices, and happenings of the greater Southwest.

Recognizing that structures are in fact historical compositions cited by people, places, and things points us toward some key insights into the relationship of community, migration, violence, and the larger history of the greater Southwest. I have suggested here that we should rethink community as a dimension and not as an imagined identity free of the histories of places. As a dimension, it was a quality of places, experiences, practices, and even human bodies. However we understand it, community need not be understood as an integrated or shared identity, and certainly not as an individual settlement, although communities-in-the-making were localized in space.

There was a dynamic at play here, an X-factor in the greater Southwest—a phenomenon of hybridity brought about through migration, emplacement, and displacement. Identifying this dynamic phenomenon, like invoking the idea of agency, is not in and of itself an explanation of anything. But it is a new starting point grounded in a less orderly vision of the Southwest as a land of uncertainty, conflict, disunity, and identity politics. People, working to build community, may not have understood the meanings or motivations behind their own experiences or their relationships to some larger history. But that view of things is probably a much more realistic (and scientific) view of the historical processes that archaeologists seek to understand. And that view of things constitutes the new grounds for agency in Southwestern archaeology, and beyond.





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## Life as Movement

### *A Tewa View of Community and Identity<sup>1</sup>*

*Tessie Naranjo*

There are always numerous reasons for visiting the Four Corners area; the most compelling is that I get to visit my Pueblo ancestors at the various sites in the region. These visits have helped me reflect on how my Pueblo ancestors lived, survived, and thrived. Of course, I have long been interested in my Tewa Pueblo ancestors, but my experiences working with archaeologists at the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center have added to that interest and helped me resolve many intellectual puzzles about our origins and movement. Many of my friends happen to be archaeologists, and with good reason: we share an interest in describing how my ancestors' lives were shaped by events and by the environments in which they lived and moved from.

Having said this, we do not always approach our shared interest in the same ways; our goal of understanding the past may be the same, but we use different methods and sometimes reach different conclusions. Archaeologists are required by their disciplinary training to seek empirical evidence before they declare when and why people moved from one place to another. Those who work in the American Southwest are trying to build historical accounts about our ancestry. Some, though few, are willing to incorporate our traditional stories into the body of evidence they use to reach their conclusions. For example, John Peabody Harrington wrote about our ancestors using the archaeology that he and his colleagues produced, as well as the oral histories given him by then-living Tewas. He was unafraid to use the oral traditions of our past in order to explain various phenomena. I am aware that many archaeologists today likewise seek multiple lines of evidence, sometimes combining the analysis of material culture and oral tradition before reaching their conclusions. These conclusions make it clear that our traditional knowledge

is more than benign or sweet, secular or sacred stories, or that it merely constitutes elements of a superstitious worldview. The work of archaeologists helps us affirm our belief systems as more than “cute pagan beliefs” or basic superstition. I want to thank archaeologists for their work, which helps us understand what our predecessors could not always explain to us before they went back to Sandy Lake.

For the concluding chapter of this book, I begin by thinking about various Tewa stories and how they help illuminate features in my Tewa homeland. In particular, I want to explore how these stories address the themes of this volume: how Pueblo people socially construct their communities and how they create a sense of Pueblo identity. These stories help all Pueblo people understand the reasons for the various “dos and don’ts” taught to us by our mothers, grandmothers, great-grandmothers, and other elders. In so doing, the storytellers create a sense of community and an awareness of ourselves as Pueblo people. Even today, as old as I am, there are still those I will listen to when they say, “*Tessie, gin nung un khey a*” (“Tessie, this is the way you are supposed to do it”) or “*Tessie, di wu’un hi nah pi?*” (“Tessie, don’t you know that?”). The stories tie our present to our past and show how our modern community is linked to the communities of our ancestors. In other words, I am a believer in the value of our traditional stories and how they link contemporary Tewa people to our past. These are a few of the reasons why I work with archaeologists, and why I work so hard to help keep my language, and therefore my culture, vibrant and alive.

In examining these stories, I find a metaphor that is common to almost all of them. I call that metaphor “life as movement.” This includes physical movement from one place to another, the movement that was so fundamental to Pueblo people’s way of life in the past. But it is also the movement that characterizes life itself, the constant movement of changing circumstances. This metaphor, and others embedded in Tewa stories, shapes who we are as Pueblo people and provides a foundation for our community life.

## TEWA STORIES

Let us now consider some Santa Clara Tewa “stories,” our “traditional knowledge.” Some of these are “once upon a time” stories (*oh way wahae bah*). Others are “in the beginning” stories (no translation needed here), or origin stories that step through time. There are also “a long time ago stories” (*way mu*), and there are others that contain elements of fables, manufactured stories to teach moral lessons or comment on behaviors of community members. There are “just so” stories intended for the entertainment of children and/or

adults, and there is “gossip,” a tried and true means of passing on information about events within the community or about the behavior of a member of the family or community. As you read the stories below, you may think that they contain elements of all these types of stories, and indeed, this may be true. And, by the way, I do not follow Elsie Clews Parsons’s (1926) denotations of Tewa tales; instead, my approach is ethnogenic, that is, born from my own cultural experiences.

### MY EXPERIENCES HEARING TEWA STORIES

I remember that when I was a child, my family would make weekly treks in the early evening down to my great-grandmother’s house in the center of the pueblo. We would enjoy long evenings of storytelling. Sometimes the stories were about what had just happened to someone in the pueblo; other times there were stories about lessons; and on other occasions, there were very serious stories about *oh way wahae bah*, “the long ago past.” My memory tells me that the stories that impressed me most were those containing anything about witches and witchcraft. After an evening of witch stories, when my family and I would walk back home in the dark, on a night with no moon, I would feel tingles down my entire back, and I was certain that some witch was trying to grab me. I really *believed* it was happening.

I assume that most people had this kind of experience in their childhood. In the absence of radio and television, storytelling was an event looked forward to by adults and children. The storytellers held us in the otherworldly “aura” created by their words and gestures, much as nowadays movies and television transport children (and adults) to other worlds. It was the social environment in which the stories were told that impressed upon us their importance, no matter which kind of story was being told on any given evening.

Sometimes, there were many types of stories told in a single evening. Legendary storyteller Esther Martinez recalls in her book *My Life in San Juan Pueblo: Stories of Esther Martinez* (2004) that when hearing stories as a child in her pueblo of Okay Owingeh, the storytellers would wait until the children were asleep to tell the “adult” versions of our origins. On the contrary, at my pueblo, we did not get the “adult” versions or migration stories, because the kiva men controlled those stories. But we gathered general knowledge about these stories through a process that was like something mysteriously entering your skin.

Of all the stories told to us, which were we children expected to remember as adults and to pass on to our own children? Perhaps all of them, because elements of our heritage are blended into all the stories, and they are situated

within our Tewa homeland—the landscape and the sky of our daily experiences. I can hear the story “Naughty Little Rabbit and Coyote” and envision the landscape, the clouds, the view of the village, the river. That “just so” story was told within my physical environmental and cultural context, whether it was told in Tewa or in English.

### EXAMPLES OF STORIES THAT CARRY SPECIFIC CULTURAL INFORMATION

The first example of stories laden with specific cultural information that comes to mind is one told by Esther Martinez: the story “Naughty Little Rabbit” (or “Hungry Coyote and Rabbit,” Martinez et al. 2004:98–101). The story grounds our community in a landscape full of meaning. In telling the story, Martinez mentioned cactus in a certain place, a cliff that needed to be held up, “down by where the Chama River and the Rio Grande meet,” and at the end, she declared, “Coyote ran away to White Sands, and that’s where he lives now.” Pueblo children (and adults) know these sites by their description and often have specific names for them. Martinez repeated this story often in Pueblo schools, and children in the community came to know about the places she mentioned in this and other stories, thus learning about the cultural landscape of their Tewa homelands. Martinez told many kinds of stories, including origin stories, those of her own community, and those of the Tewas generally. These stories demonstrated knowledge of her *p’oe aa*, or her life’s pathway, and her movements on that path.

Another Tewa storyteller, Pablita Velarde, from Santa Clara Pueblo, tells the story “Turkey Girl” in her book, *Old Grandfather Storyteller* (1989:30–37). In this story, Turkey Girl lives at Shupinna, an ancient Pueblo site across the canyon from Puje, which is another ancient Pueblo site, near where Santa Clara Pueblo is located today. Turkey Girl lives at Shupinna with her unkind foster mother. Each day Turkey Girl is sent out to find food for the turkeys she is responsible for. At one point in the story, she is transformed into a beautiful young woman. When she arrives at Puje, everyone is stunned by her transformation. Even her foster mother gasps at her beauty. Her jealous foster mother then tells the young men who are fighting over Turkey Girl that she is a “black-hearted witch.” Turkey Girl feels fear, so she shortens her time at Puje and goes back to her home, where she feels safe with her turkeys and avoids the young men pursuing her. But then she is forced to run as fast as she can to get away from them. She runs into the mountains, but the young men pursue her. As they come near, the turkeys spread their wings to hide and protect her. This allows Turkey Girl to escape safely into a mountain, which

comes to be called Turkey Track Mountain, or P'in di, and there she lives out her life with her turkey friends.

I have known about this story most of my life. To this day, when I see P'in di, or Turkey Track Mountain, I remember Turkey Girl. This Cinderella-type story carries a reminder that sometimes relatives are not kind, even when a child is industrious and enjoys participating in community events. In this case, Turkey Girl's desire to participate is thwarted by her jealous foster mother and by the young men who pursue her, so she dashes home to be in the safety of her turkey friends, who ultimately save her from the pursuers. By way of this "happily ever after" story, we learn the name of the village where Turkey Girl is from, its location, the place to which the people go for ceremonies, and why the people named the mountain P'in di.

"Life as movement" is the title of my chapter. Writing about short stories that are part of the oral tradition of the Tewa world is my attempt to place in your mind the mechanisms whereby Tewa people tell the stories of their past and present, and to illustrate how these stories create community and identity. These mental mechanisms tie the meaning of everyday events to instructions for children, cautions for adults, information about the importance of the place names in our landscape, and so much more. Each story recounted in this chapter explains something about movement in life and how life *is* movement—physically, spatially, anatomically, mentally, psychologically, and aesthetically. In addition, the stories show how movement is central to our understanding of our communities and our identity as Pueblo people.

In 2000 my sister, Rina Swentzell, wrote a book entitled *Younger-Older Ones*. She needed to write this book for herself in response to certain archaeological explanations that had been given about the migration of our ancestors and the establishment of our villages, archaeological explanations that omitted the human experience that accompanied this deep history of movement and the repeated creation of Pueblo communities. Only fifty copies of the book were printed by a very small press, Weaselsleeves, in Santa Fe. The story is a captivating tale of a Tewa pueblo in the early 1400s. The pueblo is experiencing great upheaval, having to contend with many social uncertainties, which have thrown the community out of balance. Among the most serious problems is a voracious gossip who is telling tales and creating suspicion about individuals and whole families. Also, many unexplainable deaths have occurred in the pueblo in a short period of time; the cause of these deaths is ultimately attributed to the one whom the gossip accused of witchcraft. Her name is Ojegeh.

Ojegeh is the daughter-in-law of Gia-Cah, the matriarch of one extended family. Ojegeh is fiercely independent and goes on many walkabouts, leaving her children and home behind as she explores ways to settle her restlessness.

Ojegeh's mother died when Ojegeh was small, so another woman, Gia Nung Owing, raised her. At a certain point, Ojegeh is told by elders to leave the village. Later, she is asked to come back for a funeral. Now a conversation takes place between Ta P'in (Head of the Winter people), Gia Nung Owing, and Gia Cah (Ojegeh's mother-in-law). In a small room, Ta P'in speaks:

"Sometime past, we asked that Ojegeh leave our Owingeh [our village] because things were not right. She and Sokhuwa (her husband) are here now because our child's breath has left and no one objected to their coming. However, there is much talk and disturbance out there because Ojegeh has been seen chasing through the trees. That is not good. Her actions are causing turmoil in our midst. We should all be of one mind this night and not torn apart among ourselves with the fear that she has brought into our hearts" (Swentzell 2000:19).

The elders are concerned this night because of the need to help the soul, the breath of the deceased child, move easily on its journey. Sorrow captures everyone's mind in the meeting as they strive to honor the breath of the child. Some in the community feel the sorrow is greater because of the insinuation that Ojegeh is causing all the problems of the Owingeh, the village. Even Ojegeh has to take leave from this situation because of her own sorrow. Still, as she leaves, she wonders why she always has to "chose not to be a part of the people" (Swentzell 2000:22).

Throughout the entire story, there is an emphasis on interpersonal relationships between women of various kin and non-kin, as Rina explores the origins of power in the community. It is ultimately the matriarchs (individual women) who decide on ways for dealing with major issues. In this story, it is the matriarch Gia Cah (Leaf Mother) who gently mediates the current problem. Gia Cah has traveled with the gossip Povi Cah (Leaf Flower) to one of the major pueblo shrines near the village, and she prays at the shrine. She says:

"We come here to share our thoughts with you. Listen to us and care for us. Help us to care for each other. Sometimes it is so hard but that is all we have of importance. Our Owingeh, our village is not right because we do not care for each other. There is too much talking and not enough listening. There are many unkind words being said. Those words make us uncaring. Our breaths are being taken away because of our unkindness to each other. Another is about to leave us, and, yet, we do not change our thoughts and hearts. Help us" (Swentzell 2000:36).

As time moves along, Ojegeh convinces her husband and some of their children to join her in a place by a river, where she has moved, in order to set up a new household. Her grown daughter, Okhuwa Povi, (Cloud Flower), now a mother herself, visits Ojegeh in her new "Center Place." Okhuwa Povi

returns to the Owingeh of origin and tells everyone about Ojegeh's new place. Soon a meeting is held in which the merits of staying or joining Ojegeh are debated. Finally, all listen as Ta P'in, the elder, speaks:

"My children, we have heavy hearts. We have been many days to talk with [the spirit] Wind-Old-Woman. What she has to say takes courage. Our corn seeds that we have placed in our Gia (Mother) Earth are not being received by her. Wind-Old-Woman hears their crying and comes to sing their song with them. The Cloud-Bearers have also heard the song of the corn seeds as well as the stories of those who have gone to them from our Owingeh, our village. They talk about our uncaring. They talk about how we have each gone into ourselves and do not clearly feel our Gia Earth, the clouds, the wind, the birds, each other. We must again listen with our whole being to the sounds around us to know that we are all younger-older ones, that we are all women-men. We are to leave this Center Place and go south as all the people before us have done. We must go with good thoughts and hearts of kindness so that we can hear where to go. But there is much to do before we leave" (Swentzell 2000:81–82).

Time passes, and little by little all the villagers join Ojegeh and her family in their new Center Place. In the long run, this movement of the village people to a new location, down from the mesa to a river site, establishes Posongeh Owingeh, or Santa Clara Pueblo. We are left with a clear understanding that within this world, one woman made a difference. The power of women is confirmed.

In our communities, we have always known about the power of women in all domains of life. Archaeologists, in their writings, often do not seem to notice the gendered world that our ancestors and we have created. It is difficult when dealing only with artifacts or with mortuary remains to determine those things used by women, men, children, old people, and so on. But, because of the activities recounted in our stories, we can see the gendered world around us, where the complementarity of roles remains critical to holding our culture intact.

## COMMUNITY AND IDENTITY IN CULTURES OF PRIMARY ORALITY

When an elder Santa Clara man talked with me some months ago, he said that we don't write down many of our stories. We live in a culture of primary orality filled with metaphors. We pass the culture on and interpret it for our children in the way we understand and perceive it, and this is best done verbally, orally, in the form of stories. As an example, he talked about our beginnings, our origin story. He said the following, mostly in Tewa, and I put his words into English.



If we came from P'owinge (Water Village) it does not mean that we came from a body of water, literally, although that's the way anthropologists and archeologists have interpreted it. That's the only way they can interpret it if they don't know Tewa [and] they don't understand the many contexts and meanings of P'ouin (Water Lake). If you follow the many meanings and contexts of the metaphors and of the drama associated with the emergence legend . . . you will find that the non-Pueblo writers are misunderstanding the stories and meaning of the words and ceremonial activities. . . . The variants always mention the lake where we came from, and P'ouin is always to the north. P'in pieh (Mountain direction north), where we came from, is somewhere toward the mountains, and that was our original P'ouin. But that doesn't mean that there was a lake there. If you carry that kind of thinking that we have just been through in terms of [the lake being] a metaphor and if you string several metaphors together, you can [get the idea]. So, you have to change your thinking and say we came from these sacred places, but not from a body of water. We came from a sacred place, somewhere to the north. But there are many sacred places that are scattered throughout the north . . . so, we came from a very high place. . . . They ran into corn. Otherwise, why would we make corn our supernaturals? Our supernaturals are "corn mother close to winter" and "corn mother close to summer." So, of the seasons we always point toward P'in pieh (or toward the north mountains). . . . P'in piea always takes precedence over Than-pieh (Sun direction south) [because we came from somewhere in the north.] We say we came from Poquinge and we came and went from there, the sacred places, several times. But we didn't have to come from a lake . . . If you put archaeology and legends together, then we didn't develop ideas about who we were or what we were until corn came into being. As much as we might want to believe that stories tell empirical truths about our place of beginning (Sandy Lake, an underground lake located in the San Luis Valley of Colorado, or elsewhere), it seems more practical that we probably use metaphors for our physical origins in the same way that we use metaphors for explaining our beliefs. The stories that we tell in our songs, dances, and other dramas, and to our children orally, contain the historical knowledge of how we came to be and how we now live our simultaneous realities of past and present. *Hawaa gan namu*. This is the way it was (Anonymous 2005).

There is a difference between telling the origin story as a true believer and telling the story as a Tewa scholar. The standpoints give us different versions. In so many versions of the origin story, including the version above, we find men at the center of decision making after the two corn mothers send them out from "the lake" (the principle metaphor for our beginning place) to find the best place for "the people" to live. There are few stories that reveal the true power and status of women, but we find the clues about women in the stories about mothers—from corn-mothers to clan-mothers, to my mother and her mother and so on, and even to the cacique, who, as

Alfonso Ortiz (1969) noted, is “a mother for all the people,” despite the fact that he is a man.

My last story is about one of the most puzzling mythological characters in our traditional stories that deal with our origins and migrations. This character is known in the Tewa pueblos as Posejemu (aka Poseyemu at Ohkay Owingeh, Poshayanki at Zuni, Piankettacholla at Taos, Pusayani at Zia, Pusaya ni at Santa Ana, etc.) (Parmentier 1979:609). Stories about Posejemu have been published in various forms and by various writers. Parmentier notes that Posejemu figures most prominently in the Rio Grande Tewa pueblos because . . .” the Tewa received the full force of the Roman Catholic missionary and the Spanish military effort: the center of the Spanish government in the Southwest was Santa Fe, which is within the Tewa world” (Parmentier 1979:609). Joseph Campbell might say of Posejemu that he is a perfect example of the hero with a thousand faces who makes himself known in the most dire times of trouble: he is a savior, a prophet, a go-between for religious leaders and townsfolk, an overall cultural hero. He is a messianic character who

provides for the general well-being of the Pueblos. He may be a symbol of fertility (through rain, piñons, and dew), a successful mediator between heaven and earth (through sipapo), a hunter and agriculturalist, a leader in warfare (through scalps) or the instrument for social integration (through white corn woman) (Parmentier 1979:612).

We at Santa Clara Pueblo hear many stories about this culture hero, but none of these stories tell us that he is a pre-Columbian character. Instead, for us, he is a mythological character. Even though Posejemu is not in the Santa Clara Pueblo mythological pantheon, we can listen to or read stories about him with reverent curiosity. Here now is Curtis’s 1907 telling of the “hero’s tale” “Posejemu,” as recounted by Parmentier in his 1979 article:

At Posii [perhaps Posi?, which is the village of Ojo Caliente, located in the traditional Tewa homeland] lived an old woman and her granddaughter. They were very poor. The people despised them, and children would throw stones at their house and scatter refuse about it. When the cacique announced that it was time to move to the piñon camp, the girl said that she too would go. Her grandmother tried to dissuade her: “You are poor, you have only rags. Nobody likes you. Who will bring you wood and water?” Nevertheless the girl followed the others at a distance up toward Rattlesnake Mountain. At noon as she rested alone she heard a voice.

She looked up and saw a handsome young man. He asked, “Where are you going?” “I am going to gather piñon nuts.” “Do not go,” he said. “Will you take some piñons from me?” “Yes,” she said. “How many rooms have you?” “Two,”

she answered. "Take these nuts," he said. "Swallow one, and throw one of the others into each room of your house. Close the door and do not open it until morning." She agreed, took the three piñon nuts, and swallowed one. She returned to the village and tossed a nut into each room and closed the door. Night came, and they [she and her grandmother] slept outside. Early in the morning the girl was astir and went quickly into the house. She found both rooms full of piñons. Four days later, she bore a child. In four days he crept, in six days he walked, on the eighth day he killed a wood rat with a little bow made by the old woman. At twelve days of age he killed rabbits, at fourteen he went hunting antelope. A man spoke to him from behind a bush. "Come here, my son. What are you hunting?" "I come to hunt antelope, but my arrows are small. My bow is weak." "I have brought you a quiver full of good arrows," said the man, "a quiver of cougar-skin. With these you will kill anything. My son, you have no name. You will take this name, Posehweve. I, Sun, am your father." The boy went home, and on the way he killed an antelope. He told his grandmother what had occurred, and she said, "We will call you Poseyemo, because the woman who bore you is stronger than the Sun" (Curtis 1907, as recounted in Parmentier 1979).

In the early times of the Spanish invasion, some Pueblo people put Posejemu up against Jesus in the struggle for their lives. Then, into the conflict came Montezuma, a pre-Columbian figure, a God-King, who resolved the discord between these two supernaturals: Jesus and Posejemu. All that we have of this time are remnants of the conflicts, such as place names for Montezuma, and stories that attribute all kinds of miracles to Posejemu, who today embodies the characteristics of both "heroes." Those who wonder about this and write about these matters are bordering on sacrilege, whether they are Pueblo, Catholic, or Protestant.

For this chapter, I am most interested in noting that the important stories associated with Posejemu cannot be proven by *material objects*; one has to listen to the stories, the songs, the prayers to understand how important he is in many Tewa lives. He is a central figure that helps shape worldviews and our overall belief system. He is never materialized in statuary form or otherwise. No pictures exist of him. Yet, we who believe in the old traditions do not doubt his existence. It's just a question of *when* he was around. How do or would archaeologists deal with this important personage who lives in our daily memories? We only have the stories to go on, so an archaeologist who is trying to interpret aspects of our material culture that are used in the honoring of Posejemu (e.g., feathers, rattles, turtle shells, drums, kivas, etc.) needs to listen carefully to our stories and our songs in order to find him. Like Sandy Lake in the Anonymous Elder's story, Posejemu may be a metaphor; or, as in my own experience of visiting "Sandy Lake," Posejemu only materializes when we tell stories, sing, or pray about him.

## CONCLUSION

My hope in presenting these enigmatic stories is that by focusing on these few, I might come to understand and communicate the true meaning of “life as movement.” As the stories were remembered and written down, I began to realize that each one reinforces the reality of migration and movement, always described metaphorically in traditional stories. And with each physical movement, there was the construction of a new community. In her book, Esther Martinez (2004) includes twenty-seven biographical stories and ten animal stories (two with multiple variants), stories that she learned from her grandfather. There are many forms of movement in all of these stories, just as there are many forms of movement in our everyday lives.

I think that our movement stories help us to be aware of the fluidity of life, to expect or cause change, and to not be afraid, and in this way the metaphor of movement constitutes part of our identity as Pueblo people. People, animals, the stars, ants, clouds, “Old Man Bat and the chickadees,” “Old Man Coyote,” “Naughty Rabbit,” the rivers—none of these stay in one place over time, and they metaphorically change their minds periodically. Metaphorically, they are us. We see ourselves in the guise of Old Man Bat when the chickadees make fun of him because he cannot fly as well as them, and Bat is so very hurt because his new friends abandon him in the midst of their game. We remind our readers (or listeners) that kindness is more important than trickery that causes embarrassment and shame.

Now, I know I am discussing fables that teach us lessons. What shall I say about other stories, the ones that help us know the origin of Posejemu, or the unmarked or unrecognizably marked sacred sites that our ancestors left behind? What do investigators honestly need to learn from Pueblo people in order to get the archaeological story closer to our understanding of Tewa history, Tewa communities, and Tewa identity? Must archaeological reports be so depersonalized that when we read them, we cannot find ourselves?

Today at Santa Clara extended families no longer spend evenings each week telling stories. But there are other ways in which the same stories I heard and my mother heard as a child are passed on. At the Santa Clara Bureau of Indian Elementary School, elders are brought in to tell stories to the children. At the same school, the children from Head Start through the sixth grade have Indian days, during which they hear and dance to the songs of the corn dance and the buffalo dance. During feast days, these children dance various dances in the plaza areas throughout the pueblo. These children can you tell you the stories, the ones they must learn in order to dance. But soon these stories may be lost, because our language is endangered. My great-nieces and great-nephews will hear the stories in English before they hear them in Tewa (*if* they get to hear

them in Tewa, or even at all). Although stories and storytelling have been the emphasis of this chapter, the foundation for all of this is the perpetuation of our traditions through our language.

Archaeologists have their own ways of searching for answers to the puzzle of the migration of Pueblo peoples, of our movements. As for us, we don't concern ourselves with scientific proof of our movement. But through memories preserved in stories and prayers, some present-day Pueblo communities are still able to recount the ancestors' steps along the route they took to our current homelands. We believe our stories. Many of these stories have been told to outsiders (archaeologists and others) when they have asked; some we choose to reserve for ourselves. We know, then, where we belong and how we came to be.

*Hae heh.* That is all.

## NOTES

1. This chapter is based on the keynote address delivered at the 24th annual meeting of the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, October 13, 2007.

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